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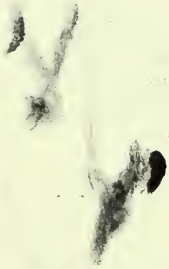

COLLECTIONS

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Introductory.

Another year's collection of the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society is herewith presented as prepared and embalmed by the printer's process with incorruptible ink.

This collection, with accurate labels, is to have a place in that part of the Athenæum set apart for this Historical Society. This collection has been secured by resident historians of the county, and from the region which this society has undertaken to rediscover, investigate, delineate, and in due form perpetuate for the instruction of future readers and writers of Berkshire history.

Pittsfield's most worthy historian, whose search for facts was rewarded with success, as the two volumes attest, at his decease left a manuscript concerning the origin of the names of Berkshire's many townships. The one giving the origin of the name Pittsfield will show his style of historic writing, and the wide domain of research to gather needed materials for such a paper.

The long time successful teacher in Lee has given us the results of his voyage along the borders of the past, revisiting the homes and scenes of the early settlers, joining in their social amusements, and listening, sometimes, to the grandmother who told the story of her younger days. They were our ancestors. Let us rejoice in their preserved records.

The historian of Great Barrington, guided by a needle as true as the magnetic one, has followed the course of one David Ingersoll, a man of influence in his day, who, with his rare powers, sought honors among men that did not pronounce *patriotism* after the manner of the British parliament. He had his reward. Read the story as told.

Berkshire's best known living genealogist has done this society a lasting favor by his carefully prepared paper on the life of John Todd, D.D. long time pastor of the First Congregational Church, Pittsfield, Mass., and author of many books whose circulation is world wide.

A. B. W.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF PITTSFIELD.

By J. E. A. SMITH,

Historian of Pittsfield.

Settled 1743–9. Incorporated April 21, 1761.

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ORIGIN OF NAME OF PITTSFIELD.

The first attempt to settle the township, now Pittsfield, was made in the summer and fall of 1743, but was abandoned in October on account of the close approach of the war of 1744–8. The settlement was resumed in the spring of 1749, and became permanent, although from 1754 to 1759, during the last of the French and Indian wars, it was little more than a mere military occupation by the settlers enlisted as provincial soldiers.

In June, 1753, the settlers were incorporated as a plantation under the name of "The Proprietors of the Settling Lots in the Township of Poontoosuck." It will be observed that in the act of incorporation, the name Poontoosuck is not applied to the plantation, but to the township in which it was located and in such a manner as to indicate that it was already so known. The place was, however, styled the Plantation of Poontoosuck in all subsequent acts of the General Court in which it was mentioned. Still the plantation jurisdiction covered only the sixty-three settling lots of eighty rods front and two hundred deep. These were laid out in three tiers or ranges. The northern tier extended from the western line of the township, along the north side of what are now East and West Streets, to within about four hundred rods of the present Dalton boundary. The middle tier lay along the south side of East and West Streets and a line drawn due east from the foot of the latter, and was continuous from the eastern to the western boundary of the town. The southern tier, of course, lay south of the middle, with the present Williams, or Housadа, Street intervening. It extended from the eastern to within about six hundred and sixty rods of the western boundary. Thus the plantation, even in that part of the tiers where all three were complete, was only six hundred and fourteen feet wide, including roads, and it covered much less than one-third of the entire area of the township.

The present Pontoosuc village and lake, the latter called by the Mohegans Shoon-keek-moon-keek, are beyond the limits of the old plantation, and acquired the name as late as 1827 from the factory which had just been erected on the outlet of the latter, and which went into operation that year. The name was of course given to the factory in memory of the Indians' Poontoosuck,with an "o" and a "k" eliminated for the sake of brevity.

The word Poontoosuck in the Mohegan tongue signifies "A Field for the Winter Deer." Its application here doubtless refers to the custom of the tribe, having its principal ordinary dwelling place on the eastern bank of the Hudson, to repair at certain seasons to these hills for hunting, which they appear to have carried on with strict system. One of these seasons commenced about the first of March, when, according to their chronicler, Hendrick Aupaumut, they hunted the moose.

Possibly the Indians meant by Poontoosuck all the territory which they roamed at this season. Bryant speaks of "Pontoosuc woods" in his reminiscences of his early home in Cummington. But we are inclined to believe that their "Field for the Winter Deer" was confined to the broad opening among the mountains, now occupied chiefly by Pittsfield, but including also the adjoining level portions of Dalton, Lanesboro' and Richmond. Had in embraced more than this, it would have been known and put on record by the early settlers whose intimacy with their red brethren was very great.

The Taratine, or Penobscot Indians of Maine, used to call the moose "The Winter Deer," and probably do so yet. It is very likely that the Mohegans also did the same; and the moose is well known to seek bodies of water as large as he can find. The region we have designated, with its frequent lakes and streams, and sheltered by its surrounding mountain walls, would then be naturally a favorite haunt of the broad-antlered "winter deer," as well as for the common deer. Indeed, the shores of Pittsfield lakes were much frequented by the latter, at least, long after the settlement commenced. The only moderately uneven ground, sheltered from the most violent

winds, would also be attractive to the Indian hunters, who, we must remember, did not follow the chase for sport, but, capable as they were of enduring the most severe fatigue and privation, were by no means enamored of either, but shunned them whenever they could. What is now Pittsfield may therefore have been their most highly prized hunting ground in winter, their Poontoosuck, *par excellence.* But the name was doomed to pass away as that of those happy hunting grounds, although it still lingers in a portion of them.

On the 21st of April, 1761, the whole township of Poontoosuck was incorporated as a town and received the name of Pittsfield in honor of William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, but at that time Prime Minister of Great Britain with the prouder title of "The Great Commoner." Col. William Williams, who was the agent of the plantation in procuring the incorporation, wrote to a friend in London, "The name of Pitt is most agreeable to me, and, as the plantation in which I dwell grew numerous, the government last spring saw cause to incorporate it into a town, which Gov. Bernard was pleased to call Pittsfield." There can be no question but that all the citizens of the new town were equally pleased. Never was name bestowed with better reason. However much Governor Bernard, in giving it, may have been influenced by the mere fact of Pitt's premiership, its peculiar fitness arose, not from his eminent position in the government, but from the use which he made of it to the advantage of, indeed, we may well say the salvation of, the British colonies in North America, and especially the settlements in Western Massachusetts.

After events added to the satisfaction with which the people viewed the name; but it was this which, at the moment when it was bestowed, constituted its distinguishing fitness. It may be considered superfluous to outline here any portion of the history of a statesman so illustrious as Lord Chatham, but much of it has a direct bearing upon the propriety of giving his name to the first town incorporated on the western border of Massachusetts, after his wisely liberal policy and vigorous administration had freed it from long dread of absolute ruin by savage devastation, while almost all that can be recorded of

him adds to the early satisfaction and pride in his name early entertained by the people of Pittsfield. The story is nowhere told with special reference to these points, nor with the purpose of associating somewhat the fame of the great champion of constitutional rights and government with that of his namesake town. An attempt to tell it briefly will not be censured as out of place here.

William Pitt was born at Westminster, November 15, 1708, being the second son of Robert Pitt, Esq., of Boconnock in the County of Cornwall. The family, which held a respectable, although not very distinguished position among the untitled gentry, was raised to considerable affluence by William's grandfather, Thomas, who, while governor of Madras, bought for about £20,000 what was then supposed to be the largest diamond in the world, which, in 1717, he sold to the Duc D'Orleans, regent of France, for £134,000, the fragments and dust made in cutting being worth £8,000 or £10,000 more; the diamond thereafter being famous as "The Regent," and the governor acquiring the soubriquet of "Diamond Pitt." William was matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford University, in 1726, but, on account of ill health left in 1727, without graduating. Being obliged as a younger son to enter a profession, after a tour in France and Italy, he obtained a cornet's commission in the army. That, however, was not to be his field of fame. With part of his diamond money, Gov. Pitt purchased the rotten-borough of "Old Sarum," destined a hundred years later to become famous in the parliamentary reform agitation as the typical rotten-borough. He sat for this borough for several sessions of parliament. After his death in 1726, and that of his son Robert, in 1727, the latter's eldest son Thomas had the seat. At the general election in 1734, however, he was chosen for both Old Sarum and Oakhampton, and, preferring to sit for the latter, the family borough fell, according to custom, to William, who thus entered parliament in 1635, at the age of twenty-seven. An exceedingly fortunate happening, or series of happenings, for the world, or at any rate for England and America. A vast amount of good for America, of which Pittsfield had a large share, can thus be

traced back directly to that purest of famous gems,the Regent's Diamond; a brilliant origin surely.

The law of primogeniture not being exactly one of nature's enactment, William Pitt inherited much more than a younger brother's portion of his nabob grandfather's gout, which proved both a curse and a blessing to him, a bitter-sweet potion. It was this which drove him from the university, and, while he remained, forbade him to distinguish himself in the regular studies of the college curriculum. But the frequent, and sometimes long confinements to which it, then and afterwards, subjected him, afforded much leisure which he used in the ardent study of Grecian and Roman oratory and history. These inspired his ambition, gave tone and color to his eloquence, loftiness to his character, and patriotic devotion to his public life. There never was a more illustrious example of the influence of classical antiquity upon modern mind and life.

When he entered parliament, Sir Robert Walpole was in the full flush of his immense and long continued power as prime minister. Pitt at once joined the ranks of the opposition, and astonished the House by the boldness, fire, depth of argument, acuteness, and cutting satire of his eloquence. A few years later, in 1746, the Duke of Cumberland, having listened to one of his speeches, declared that he had "the dignity of Windham, the wit of Pulteney and the knowledge and judgment of Walpole." But in his earliest parliamentary years, having the temerity to exercise his powers in sharp criticism and vehement denunciation of the ministry, not sparing its head, he was summarily deprived of his commission in the army. This did not serve at all to blunt the edge of his satire, or abate the ardor of his opposition to the government; and in after days, when the tables were turned and Pitt did not show the magnanimity which would have become him, Walpole had cause to regret his ungenerous punishment of the young orator, although it was strictly in accord with the spirit and custom of the times which stood sadly in need of "civil service reform." Pitt lost nothing in the end by being deprived of his commission. It gave him more time for his parliamentary duties, and freed him from embarrassment in performing them. And the

Duchess of Marlborough, dying in 1744, bequeathed him a legacy of £10,000, "upon account of his merit in the noble, defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country," as *her* Grace phrased it;—for gratifying her spite against Walpole, as a censorious world, not unacquainted with "the gentle Sarah," would have it. Twenty years later Sir William Pynsent, out of admiration for his political course, bequeathed him his entire estate of Burton-Pynsent in Somersetshire, which was worth £3,000 a year, and from which Pitt took one of his titles when he was raised to the peerage.

When the administration that succeeded Walpole in 1746 was organized, he became joint treasurer for Ireland, and soon treasurer and paymaster of the army, which gave him a seat in the Privy council, but not in the cabinet. These places were lucrative, although he made himself the marvel of official circles, and became the object of general admiration by his extraordinary probity in abstaining from some petty but profitable peculations which his predecessors had practiced until they had come to be considered the proper perquisites of their places. In spite of the king's scantily disguised dislike, he held these offices for nine years, and with more influence in the administration than commonly attached to them. At the same time he was nominally the leader of the House of Commons, but he was at no pains to conceal his dislike of the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle. In 1755, apparently willing to provoke exclusion from an administration in which he could not remain with either comfort or credit, he bitterly attacked a favorite measure of the king, and was promptly dismissed from his office; but only to soon return to a higher place, under the pressure of public sentiment.

In November, 1756, he was made Prime Minister, with the place of Principal Secretary of State, but, unable to agree with the king upon a plan for the campaign on which they were both determined in the war which had been going on, and going wrong, for two years, he was again dismissed in April, 1757. Public opinion, however, was so strongly expressed all over the kingdom that, much against his will, the king was

compelled to recall him in November, the Duke of Newcastle himself being foremost in urging it. Pitt accepted the same places as before, but with the condition that he should have the sole charge of the war and of foreign affairs. This was the beginning of that period of his public life in which, among grand achievements for the whole British empire, he accomplished so much which specially called for the gratitude of Western Massachusetts.

For years, England had been sinking in the scale of nations and France proportionately gaining prestige, rank and power. It was Pitt's aim to reverse all this, and establish among the states of Europe a balance of power, with England as the balance wheel. For a few months fortune failed him. Then his spirit began to animate and his genius to direct the arms of England. Success followed him in all the four quarters of the globe. A new era of splendid conquests and national glory crowned his efforts.

But it is with what he effected in and for North America that we have here chiefly to do. For nearly a century, at least, the French dominion in Canada had been wrought with terror, devastation, cruel massacres, and almost as cruel captivities for the settlers on the northern borders of New England and New York. Inferior in numbers to the English, the French colonists had a power for mischief disproportionately great on account of their happy accord with each other and with their home government, their freedom of any dread of invasion in their own homes, except by large and civilized armies, and their influence over many bands of savages, to whose native ferocity they added religious rancor by converting them to the Catholic faith, and persuading them that their murderous raids upon the English heretics were crusades against the enemies of Christ and His Church. To make all this the more available, the French Government early erected at Ticonderoga and Crown Point fortifications whose massive masonry and ponderous ordinance astounded the provincial soldiers who, at first as prisoners and afterwards as conquerors, had an opportunity to view them. They had never seen the like approaching it in their own defences, which usually consisted of log block houses,

mounting a few small cannon, if there chanced to be any. Ticonderoga and Crown Point, commanding the great water highway of Lake Champlain, at once protected Canada from any advance of any formidable enemy from the south, and gave rapidly moving bodies of French and Indians easy and unheralded access to the very border of the settlements in Western Massachusetts and the adjoining section of New York. These settlements were thus kept in continual dread of murderous surprises, and the advance of the former towards the Hudson and of the latter towards the great lakes was almost completely blocked. The present inhabitants of these regions, which have so long been exempt from dread of invasion by any foe, civilized or savage, can with difficulty realize the constantly harrassed and imperilled life led by the few who dared to make their hòmes between the upper Connecticut and Hudson valleys, while Canada was a French province. But there was more than this. Hardly a decade before Pitt came into power, the combination of an inland invasion from Canada with an attack upon the seaboard by a French naval armament of immense strength, threatened the complete extension of all the New England colonies. The utmost anxiety—not to say panic—prevailed, and it was not English or Provincial prowess or arms which averted the calamity; the Almighty, in answer to prayer, as the New Englanders piously believed, sent his storms to destroy the mighty French armament, as He had before commissioned them to overwhelm the mightier Spanish Armada. Expedition after expedition had been jointly organized by the English home and provincial governments for the reduction of Ticonderoga, and the interposition of some sufficient barrier between the colonies and their inveterate northern foe. But the incompetence of the commanders sent out from England and the niggardly contingents of men and arms which accompanied them, had rendered every attempt abortive, with the sole result of wasting precious lives, while inciting the exasperated and emboldened enemy to new outrages.

Pitt would not have been himself had he not at once perceived that only the entire conquest of Canada and its permanent subjection to English rule could afford adequate protec-

tion to the colonies of New England and New York; and indeed save from the grasp of his great enemy, France, much more of the British empire in America than was immediately threatened. Nor, perceiving this, would he have been William Pitt, had he not bent his best energies to effect the conquest.

We need not repeat the oft told story of the conquest. It is sufficient that its triumphant accomplishment was due to Pitt's bold and vigorous measures, to his discernment in selecting Wolfe to lead the assault on Quebec, and to what some in London critized as his lavish expenditures.

Wolfe fell on the Plains of Abraham, in the hour of victory, September 13, 1759. But Pitt's plan of conquest went on, and Gen. Amherst completed it by the taking of Montreal, September 9, 1760, when the Marquis DeVandreuil, the same who in 1746 with a force of 500 French and Indians, destroyed Fort Massachusetts at what is now North Adams, and carried its inmates, soldiers, women and children, to Canada; this same General, Marquis DeVandreuil, signed the capitulation which forever separated Canada from France. From that time it was never again a terror, or a source of danger to Western Massachusetts, until it became the base of operations in the Revolution for an English army with Indian allies sent to attack the colonies contrary to the warning advice of Pitt.

All important as these glorious achievements in Canada were to the people of New England, rejoicing for them was not more exultant in Boston than in London, chastened as it was by mourning for the death of Wolfe. But all was not yet safe. We said that DeVandreuil's capitulation forever severed Canada from France; but the statement needs some qualification. The formal cession of the Province to England was not made until February 10, 1763. In the meantime, changes greatly imperilling the retention of Canada took place in the English government. George the Second died on the 25th of October, 1760, and Lord Bute, riding in hot haste to announce to George the Third his accession to the throne, installed himself as the "favorite of the new and youthful monarch," whose evil angel he was destined long to continue. Pitt now found his most momentous plans constantly thwarted by influence which was

the more exasperating and pernicious because it was exercised in the secrecy of the King's private closet where there was no opportunity to meet and counteract, or, if it was to prevail, to adopt the general policy of the administration to it. Finally, Pitt, together with Lord Temple, having submitted to the king in writing advice of the most urgent nature in which delay would be fatal, found it rejected. There was no alternative and both resigned on the Fifth of October, 1761.

Pitt's resignation was received by the king with well feigned regret, the most profound acknowledgments of his great services to the country, and a request that he would name any recompense which it was in the power of the crown to bestow. Pitt was greatly affected but asked simply that his wife should be created Countess of Chatham, with a limitation of the title to her heirs male. To this the king added a pension of £3000 annually for his own life, that of his wife and their oldest son. The resignation of Pitt, whose cause was no secret, excited the deepest feeling throughout England. As a probably not exaggerated expression of it, we quote an epigram which we find in the London Annual Register of 1761, where it seems to have lain hidden for our use a hundred and twenty-five years. It is founded upon the incident that, at the coronation of George the Third, the largest jewel in the crown fell from it. The omen created, at the time, no little apprehension of evil in the hearts even of those not commonly given to superstitious fears. Pitt afterwards, in one of his most energetic speeches, applied it with great pertinence to the loss of the American colonies. He had undoubtedly read this reference of it to himself: the poet would have been sure not to leave him in ignorance of his eulogistic verse, which is as follows:—

> Ne'er yet in vain did Heaven its omens send;
> Some dreadful ills unusual signs portend!
> When Pitt resigned, a nation's tears will own,
> Then fell the brightest jewel of the Crown!
>
> Walton, Oct. 15, 1761. R. Browne.

Those who, with senses quickened by patriotic anxiety, were watching every event which might have a bearing upon the fortunes of the American colonies, needed no superstitious

fears nor fantastic reading of omens to teach them that the resignation, regarded even in England as a very evil omen, boded no good to them. But they could not have imagined by how close a margin it escaped being fatal to their newly raised hope of a safe northern frontier. While the government under the new king was shaping itself as we have described, Lord Egremont succeeding Pitt as Premier, the treaty ceding Canada was not yet signed; and the alternative was presented to the English negotiators of relinquishing to France, from the conquests made from her, either Canada or certain West India Islands. A strong party at the English Court favored the restoration of Canada; as Louisburg, captured in the preceding war largely by New England forces, had been disgracefully given up at its close. The advocates of this dastardly proposition hardly made it a secret that they were prompted by the fear that, freed from the constant dread of Canadian invasion and relieved of the necessity of English protection against it, the New England colonies would grow rapidly in their longings for independence and their power to achieve it. Pitt met the measure with the full force of his great influence and lofty eloquence. It was defeated, and he won anew the gratitude of Americans. Of his influence at this time Horace Walpole wrote, as truthfully as poetically, "Though Pitt resigned before the war closed, his genius still shone like the light of an annihilated star." This was more than a year after Pittsfield was named, but it added to the satisfaction of its people. At this day, we feel that to have given his name, not only to one Berkshire town, but to the whole county would not have been too strong a manifestation of gratitude for his great services to it. It is not necessary to suppose that Pitt had any greater love for New England than for any other portion of the British dominions of equal importance. He had, to be sure, a knowledge of its people and a respect for them which were exceptional among cabinet officers, although they were shared by not a few among the governing class. But the controlling idea of his public life was the aggrandizement of Great Britain and the curtailment of French territory and power. With this paramount object in view, he

clearly saw that the possession of Canada, very desirable in itself, was absolutely essential to the preservation of English rule in other parts of North America, while his far-seeing statesmanship pointed out to him unmistakably that the allegiance of the colonies to the British crown could be long maintained only by conceding to their people the rights of Englishmen as guaranteed by their charters. These two propositions afforded the key to all his American policy.

After his resignation of the premiership in 1761, he took such part in public affairs as his gout permitted until the death of his successor, Lord Egremont, in 1763, led to unsuccessful negotiations for his return to the ministry, which were renewed in 1765 and 1766, with the result that, with some stipulations, he again accepted office, as the state of the nation seemed to demand. The place which he chose for himself in the cabinet, in addition to, or rather in connection with, the premiership, was that of Lord Privy Seal, which necessitated his elevation to the peerage and he was in July created Viscount Pitt of Burton-Pysent and Earl of Chatham. His acceptance of this rank was taken in such ill part by those who had almost worshipped him as "The Great Commoner", that the city of London countermanded the order it had given for celebrating his return to power by a great banquet and general illumination. He lost much of his power with the people and never fully recovered it.

His accession to the premiership at this peculiarly trying juncture of national affairs was unfortunate. He was the first of the English premiers whose appointment, after the method which has almost uniformly since prevailed, was practically dictated to the sovereign by the commons. The policy towards America, born of a feeling long existent at court, was just beginning to take definite shape and was strongly favored by the king. In this and other matters, his opinions were repugnant to those of his minister. Three years before, the House of Commons had, without a division, affirmed its absolute right to tax America, Pitt being silent, probably on account of his health. This scheme (which Col. Partridge of Hatfield in a letter to Col. Williams of Pittsfield named the "green-villain"

from its author, Lord Grenville) attracted but little notice in England, but in America it excited the gravest apprehensions. No attempt, however, was made to exercise the power, thus solemnly claimed, until the passage of the "Stamp act" March 22, 1765, when Pitt again appears to have taken no part in the discussion and probably for the same reason. The commotion caused by this act in America, and the consequent disturbance of trade in England, compelled the government, a year later, to introduce a motion for its repeal, which Pitt, not yet in the cabinet, ardently supported in some of his most noted speeches. He also exerted himself strenuously, but unsuccessfully, to obtain a recognition of the true principles upon which England had a right to exercise authority over her flourishing colony, and the limits by which that authority ought to be circumscribed. He utterly denied as unconstitutional the right of taxation claimed by the resolutions of 1763. In this he was decisively defeated. The repeal of the Stamp Act, as a mere measure of expediency, was accompanied by an affirmation, still broader and more imperious than the first, of the right of parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatever. An English writer of repute declares that the boldness with which Pitt attacked this position and applauded the resistance of the Americans to the obnoxious Act would have probably cost any other man dear in that age when freedom of debate in parliament was not what it is now. And yet it was tame compared with his utterances in later stages of the conflict.

Assuming the leadership of the ministry, a few months afterwards, he seemed altogether a changed man from the strong, clear-headed hero of the Stamp Act debates, and unlike what he was at any other time when he was conspicuous in public life. He was "incapacitated, physically and mentally, during the greater part of his tenure of office." "He scarcely ever saw any of his colleagues, although repeatedly and earnestly pressed to grant an interview." "He refused even an offer of the king to visitation in person, although made in terms of almost abject respect." His enemies attributed this strange conduct to his sudden loss of popularity; but his friends, to "an alienation of mind amounting almost to insanity," and caused

either by his intense sufferings from the gout, or, more probably, by the remedies administered to relieve them.

But, whatever may have been the cause of his singular abstention from interference with measures for which he was, under the English constitution, responsible, it gave the world the strange spectacle of an administration taking action without the consent, perhaps without even the knowledge, of its nominal head, and certainly in direct contravention of his well known life-long principles. But at length the determination evinced by the king and his own colleagues to adopt a course towards America precisely the reverse of that he had counselled, seems to have roused him from his lethargy; and when late in the fall of 1768, this determination was emphasized by the appointment of the Earl of Hillsborough as Secretary of State for the colonies, he sent the seals of office to the king, alleging his shattered health as the reason of his resignation, but not forgetting to complain of the treatment some of his friends had received. Soon after his resignation, a renewed and an acute attack of gout, together probably with a change to medical treatment less deleterious to his nervous system, freed him from his mental malady. But he did not again appear in public until a royal levee late in 1769, and did not resume his seat in the House of Lords until 1770, when he was again found in the opposition ranks, but not very actively until 1774.

In that year the aspect of the American difficulties grew most alarming. To Lord Chatham's clear vision the necessity of instant and adequate conciliatory measures was startlingly apparent, and, on the 20th of January, 1775, he moved in the House of Lords an address to the King, advising the recall of the troops from Boston. His motion, although ably seconded by Lord Camden, was rejected by a decisive vote. Not discouraged by this defeat, on the first of February he introduced his famous "Bill for Settling the Troubles in America." This scheme required of the colonies a full acknowledgment of the supremacy and superintending power of Parliament, but provided that no taxes should be levied on them except by the consent of the colonial assemblies. It also provided for a con-

gress of the colonies to make the acknowledgment, and to make a free grant to the king of a definite permanent revenue to be placed at the disposal of Parliament. The bill was rejected on its first reading by a majority of more than two to one, being even refused the poor common courtesy of lying on the table. Its concessions fell far short of the aims of the leading American patriots, and it would not have been strange if the more bold and sanguine among them had quietly rejoiced over its defeat. Much that we now know of the strength of the Loyalist party in the Provinces, and the hesitating indecision of a large portion of the rest of the people, points to the belief that if Chatham's plan had been adopted, the separation of the colonies from the mother country would have been postponed for many years. It was not so to be, and the Tory cheers which greeted the victory of the ministry over the greatest statesman of his age were answered on the nineteenth of the following April by the musketry of Lexington and Concord.

But, even yet, Chatham did not despair. On the sixth of November, 1776, news of the Declaration of Independence having reached England, and also of the appointment by Congress of Commissioners to obtain, if possible, the aid of France to make it good, a motion was made in the House of Commons looking to a revision of the acts of Parliament by which the Americans considered themselves aggrieved. The motion was defeated. Lord Chatham knew his old enemy too well to believe that she would let slip too favorable an opportunity to avenge herself of her old humiliations, and at the same time cripple her most formidable rival among nations, as she would be crippled by the loss of her vast transatlantic possessions. Nor could so shrewd a student of diplomacy have failed to perceive that the great Declaration was a bold stroke of policy intended to overcome some of the objections of the French court to an alliance with revolted provinces; nor, furthermore, could he doubt that it would have that effect, unless England took the speediest steps to bring about a reconciliation. In spite of his painful and increasing infirmities, he therefore hastened to the House of Lords, and there reviving the propositions which had

been lost in the Commons, advocated them with all his old energy and eloquence. It was in vain. He was defeated even more ignominiously than before; if ignominy can attach to defeat when in the well conducted support of the right. Loss of popularity consequent upon his acceptance of a peerage and a pension, together with the unhappy failure of his second premiership, had reduced his personal following from its early grandeur almost to insignificance. The section of the opposition led by Lord Rockingham, disgusted with the imbecile obstinacy of the ministry, systematically absented themselves from parliament when American affairs were to be considered, notwithstanding Chatham's earnest protest against such a course as a dereliction from duty. He was thus left almost alone to combat in the House of Lords against a policy whose fatal results he clearly foresaw, and most bitterly deplored. At the same time, his torture by the gout became more acute and exhausting. Yet in the year 1777, and in reference to the Burgoyne invasion which brought danger and suffering so close to Berkshire, came what were perhaps the most splendid bursts of his indignant eloquence concerning the American conflict. We quote a few sentences, partly for this reason, and partly as an illustration of his oratorical style when most impassioned. Denouncing the employment of the tomahawk and the scalping knife as allies of British arms, he exclaimed :—

"I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry which adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of the noble lord frowns with indignation at this disgrace of his country."

Speaking of the use of German mercenaries, his ringing words were :—

"Were I an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms. Never! Never! Never!"

Again, alluding to Burgoyne's boast that he would drive the Americans before his army like a flock of sheep, he said with withering scorn :—

"I might as well think of driving them before me with this crutch!"

Such words as these, repeated all over Europe and America,

were worth thousands of men to the patriot cause. But for him who uttered them, the end was rapidly approaching. And when it came, it was a fitting and noble conclusion—it may be better said, a sublime culmination of the career—of one who stands with few rivals in the long line of British statesmen, for grandeur of spirit, pure patriotism, acuteness of intellect, and splendor of eloquence. After the failure, in 1776, of his last grand effort for a conciliatory course towards the colonies, results followed in rapid succession, as he had forecast them in a vision made prophetic by profound contemplation of the situation of the leading nations of the world, and quickened by an invalid patriot's painful—and it must have often been solitary—watch of the march of events which he could no longer check or control.

In the December of 1776, immediately after the defeat of his conciliatory measures, the American commissioners received from France what was practically a subsidy of £600,000, which, chiefly applied to the purchase of arms and military supplies, was of invaluable service. Although a portion were captured by the enemy, they enabled Washington to carry on the war which otherwise would have been in great danger of failing, if indeed there was not an absolute certainty of failure. During the year 1777, military operations went on in America with varying fortunes; but the capture of Burgoyne, and other victories in the north, gave the preponderance greatly against the British arms, whose successes in the south were barren of results, as all their successes from the opening of the conflict had been, so far as restoring British rule in any place not immediately occupied by British troops was a test. At the opening of the year 1778, the ministry had abundant reason to pause and count the cost of their measures, which had already been twenty thousand men and a hundred million dollars of the public treasure. To this was added £12,000,000, the value of five hundred and fifty merchant vessels, captured by American cruisers, which swarmed even in the British seas so that convoys were necessary from one home port to another. Added still to this was the loss of the lucrative American trade, and the suspended payment, and probable eventual loss of large

sums due from American debtors to English merchants. The clamor on all sides against continuing a policy which had resulted disastrously reached even the royal ear, which it was found had thus far been deaf even to the councils of the Prime Minister. Lord North astonished all the world, on the 15th of February, 1778, by bringing into Parliament a scheme of reconciliation, at bottom nearly identical with that proposed by Chatham a year before, and still more by declaring that he had from the first been opposed to taxing America, and to the coercive acts against her. Time's revelation of state secrets has proved that these declarations, so startlingly unexpected, were true to the letter. History now tells us, what our own Parson Allen asserted at the time, that George the Third was himself primarily and chiefly responsible for the errors of this part of his reign and the misfortunes they brought upon his empire. As in Chatham's premiership of 1766–8, so in North's, the government had steadily pursued a course in violent opposition to the advice of the nominal and responsible head of the administration. But in 1778, matters had reached a crisis in which Lord North, no longer daring to incur the dangers of such a position, relieved himself of them by the announcement of his real opinions and the submission of plans in accordance with them. About the same time, Edmund Burke denounced the employment of the scalping knife of the savage in the war against the colonists with all his stately but burning eloquence, as Chatham had before scathed the practice with even more fiery words, until indignation against the government and General Burgoyne pervaded, not only all England, but all Europe.

Under these circumstances, Parliament hastily adopted Lord North's tardy scheme of reconciliation. But it was too late. Burgoyne's campaign had redoubled the bitterness of American feeling against England, while it firmly strengthened the confidence of the American people in themselves, and their hope of ultimately vindicating their independence. All the events of the year had gone to inspire the French court with faith in the resources of the new states and the persistent determination of their people. No sooner, therefore, did news of Lord North's

movement reach Paris, than the French minister hastened to inform the American commissioners of his willingness to resume negotiations. The advance was eagerly met, and treaties of commerce, friendship, and alliance were concluded with the least delay compatible with the forms of diplomacy. It was soon known in England that preparations were making to act under them at once. In this state of affairs, it appeared to the Rockingham section—much the larger part—of the opposition, that it would be worse than useless to continue the struggle, and on the seventh of April, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, one of the truest friends of America and earliest of the defenders in parliament of colonial rights, moved an address to the king advising an immediate recognition of American independence, and negotiations for a treaty of peace and commerce on the best terms which could be obtained. (N. B. A full account of His Grace's acts with regard to America will be given in the sketch of his life in connection with the towns of Richmond and Lenox.) Chatham had been warned of this movement, and his proud spirit, unbroken yet by his many infirmities of body, could not brook in silence what seemed to him a shameful concession to the French power which it had been his life's endeavor to curb and humble. Although almost crushed in health by physical and mental anguish, he was, therefore, present when the Duke supported his motion by an elaborate and cogent argument, and, when he closed, rose to reply.

With feeble voice, and evidently speaking with great pain, he yet earnestly and pathetically implored the House "to do anything rather than encounter the disgrace of the proposed measure, and at least to make one becoming effort, and, if they must fall, fall like men."

Here his sufferings compelled him to drop into his seat. His friend, Lord Temple, reminded him that he had not submitted a plan of pacification which they had discussed. He replied that he would do it presently. Later in the evening, he attempted to rise for that purpose, but fainted, after one or two ineffectual efforts. Medical aid was at hand, and he revived

sufficiently to be removed to his country house at Hayes in the county of Kent, where he died the eleventh of May.

All party animosity and personal resentments were swallowed up in the overwhelming sense of his loss. At the unanimous request of the House of Commons, the government gave him a magnificent public funeral and erected a superb monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Parliament voted an appropriation of £20,000 for the payment of his debts, and the king bestowed an annual pension of £4,000 upon his successors in the Earldom. His eldest son, John, died in 1835, without male heirs, and the title became extinct; his second son and namesake, whose fame as a statesman equals that of his father, having died also without issue in 1806.

We have sketched more fully than we intended the life of the great man from whom Pittsfield derived its name, but still have treated of hardly more of his acts than those which directly concerned America; and not all of these, for much of his European policy looked to effects here. Thus, when his first campaign against Canada failed, he turned to the help of Frederic the Great who greatly needed it in his war with France, but, said Pitt significantly, "America must be conquered in Germany."

The name of Pitt ought to be as agreeable to the people of Pittsfield now as it was to Col. Williams in 1761. It ought not to impair this feeling in the least, that his last public act was opposition, literally to the death, to the acknowledgment of this country's independence. The fact is that he loved America, as Henry the Fifth of England loved France, so well that he would not willingly give up a foot of it. It was not to be supposed, however, that at any time he held the interests of the colonies dearer than those of the parent state. It is sufficient that he believed them bound up in each other; would have them "one and inseparable then and forever." He considered that union, preserving the rights of each, was the best for both, and essential to the curbing of the ambitions and encroaching power of France. Events which no human wisdom could have forseen have rendered it otherwise; but that does not lessen the grandeur of his statesmanship or the debt of gratitude which both England and America owe to his memory.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY CITIZENS OF BERKSHIRE.

By ALEXANDER HYDE,

OF LEE, MASS.

Social Life and Customs of the Early Citizens of Berkshire.

Macaulay, the model modern historian, truly says, "History has been too much occupied with courts and camps to spare a line for the hut of the peasant, or for the garret of the mechanic." If we commence with Herodotus, the father of history, who wrote in the fifth century before the Christian era, and study the historians from his day to Macaulay's, we shall fail to find a chapter devoted to the social life of the great mass of the people. Their pages are filled with the story of kings and nobles, and the exploits of military heroes. Every student of history must have felt the aching void there is with reference to social life and customs. It is well enough for us to know how Cyrus the Great conquered Media and Lydia and extended his dominion from the Hellespont to the Indus; how Alexander the Great, from being king of the petty province of Macedonia in Greece, rose to the sovereignty of the known world, and wept for other worlds to conquer; how Cæsar the Great, in his time, conquered Greece, Egypt, Asia, and Western Europe, and made Rome mistress of the world. The history of these so-called great sovereigns and warriors of antiquity, and of their compeers in modern times who have been stimulated by their example to become great *vi et armis*, has a lesson for all time. It serves to point the moral, How weak and small is man in his highest power and greatness! But we, the people, have little in common with these great characters of history. They are meteors which shoot far above us, and, though historians have been dazzled by their splendor, and have filled volume after volume with their exploits, we feel little personal sympathy with these sovereigns and military heroes, and by reading their conquests, our souls are not stirred to do truly great and noble deeds. We are rather disgusted with the selfish ambition and cruel avarice of these heroes of

history, desirous to be called great, but really deficient in the highest attributes of true manhood; and a yearning is excited to look among the common walks of life, and see if we cannot find there more truth, more justice, more mercy, more charity, in short, more to adorn and ennoble humanity.

We were once tempted to study the social life and customs of Greece, but found meagre means for the investigation. We desired to know how the common folks of old Greece,—the country from which the culture of European and American civilization has mainly derived its character,—lived; in what kind of houses they dwelt; how they were clothed and fed; what constituted good neighborhood among them; what were their daily vocations, their social pleasures, their ideas of God and humanity, of courtesy and hospitality, of the family relation and civil government, and above all, as the trying test of their civilization, of the position woman held in Grecian society. No Greek historian treats of these topics. All that we can learn about them is derived from incidental hints and narrations in connection with the story of kings and heroes. The ideal life of the Greeks, as portrayed by their poets, is more full of allusions to social customs, and from these we might at first infer that the kings were generous, the people hospitable, and women honored. A closer scrutiny reveals the fact that the princes were generous when hoping to receive a double recompense in return; that the common people were too shrewdly selfish to open their doors in hospitality, except to those who could in some manner repay their hosts. Thus one of Homer's heroes says, "Of course, you must receive a stranger when he comes; but who would be so foolish as to invite a man of his own accord, except it were a skilled artisan," that is, one from whom some recompense might be obtained. As to the position of woman in Greek society, we gain but scanty light from the historians. From the incidental allusions, it is manifest that woman was poorly appreciated by the Greeks. Even in the poetic ideal of woman there is little that commends itself to the approbation of Christian civilization. Pallas Athene, the leading personage among Homer's goddesses, and apparently designed to personify all that in those times was considered noble

in female character, would not be tolerated in the higher circles of modern society. She was astute, but accomplished her ends by craft rather than by wisdom. With no gross appetites, she was heartless, revengeful and unscrupulous in her cruelty. If such was the ideal pattern goddess, what must have been the average woman? We are not left wholly to inference on this point, for occasionally we find a remark that reveals in what estimation woman was held by the Greeks. Thus Thucydides says, "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men whether for good or evil." Hesiod complains that one of the grievances of having a wife, is her insisting on joining her husband at his meals, and Ischomachus, in Xenophon's Oeconomics, when his wife asked permission to go out for exercise, advises her to obtain it by sorting and folding her clothes in her various presses. That the marriage relation was not considered very sacred in Greece, we may infer from the fact that the beautiful Helen, wife of King Menelaus, was enticed from her home and husband by that Trojan flirt, Paris, and, after spending a decade of years with her paramour in Troy, came back to Menelaus' palace, apparently with no reproach, except that of having caused bloodshed and misery in the long Trojan war.

We refer to this great dearth in ancient history on the topic of the social life of the masses, in apology—if any is necessary —for a brief review of the constitution of society in the early days of our own beloved country. We make this review with the more confidence, because we find precedent for it in that most fascinating of modern historians, who first ventured to break away from traditionary custom, and in his history of England, to treat at large of the social life of the people. There is no chapter in profane history that ever interested us more, and we venture to say, there is no one that more enlightens and edifies the masses, than Macaulay's account of the condition of society in England during the reign of Charles the Second. We have also been led to make this review by some recent investigations of the history of one of the towns of the county, and by finding how meagre were the records and traditions, and how treacherous were the memories of the oldest inhabitants on this topic of social life, and this too, though the town has been settled only about a hundred years.

If we would rightly appreciate, and study with profit, the condition of society in the early history of Berkshire, we must guard against the delusion that leads us to think that all things remain as they were, and to judge of our fathers as acting under the same conditions as those under which we now act. The truth is, both the moral and physical aspect of the county has wonderfully changed since its settlement, the short period of one hundred and fifty years. If Col. William Williams, who settled in Pittsfield in 1743, and "who, from that time until the Revolution, was," as historian Smith says, "the most prominent personage in the place, holding the most important offices in town and county, sometimes being at once chief justice of the common pleas, judge of probate, colonel of militia, representative, selectman, assessor, moderator of town-meeting, clerk, and hog-reeve; if this Col. Williams could be brought back and placed on some pinnacle overlooking the metropolis of Berkshire, he would not know the place, in laying the foundations of which he took so prominent a part. He might recognize Greylock, and the outline of the other mountains which environ this beautiful village, but not a church, nor dwelling house, not even the famous elm, which, for more than a century after the settlement of the town, stood a conspicuous land-mark on the common, now remains as a memento of Pontoosuc township.

We were forcibly reminded, at the recent centennial celebration of the incorporation of Lee, of the changes which even half a century had wrought in the people and appearance of that town, the progress of which the citizens were wont to speak of as slow. We stood at the south door of Memorial Hall, with Oliver West, the grandson of one of the first settlers of the town, by our side, who had not revisited the place of his nativity since he left it forty-five years before, at the age of twenty-five. "O, how changed!" was his exclamation. "If I had been put down here unexpectedly, I should not have recognized the place. The old church which stood on the green, and in which I so long worshipped, is gone, and not a building remains unchanged. Pixley mountain and Beartown remain, but they are not half so high as when I was a boy. And the people are as much changed as the place. I see no

familiar face; I hear no familiar name, but yours. The appearance of the citizens, and of their horses and vehicles, is so different from what it used to be. I am a stranger in a strange place. I am told that the name of West has become extinct in Lee, and I should like to be assigned a home among my father's old neighbors, so that I may find some familiar landmark."

The general appearance of the county at the time of its settlement, we can not so well describe as has been done by the gifted pen of Mr. J. E. A. Smith, the historian of Pittsfield. "If from some neighboring mountain top, the pioneer, as he approached, gained a view of the amphitheatre which lay below, the scene was one to enchant even the most prosaic heart. All the minor irregularities, all the sharper angles were softened and rounded by an enamel of forest, in which were embossed the rolling outlines of hill and valley. The landscape stretching through a range of fifty miles presented, until all other hues were lost in the blue of distance, the unbroken green of waving tree tops—save where through a few chance openings, the Housatonic flashed back the sunlight, or some shimmering glimpse of lakelet revealed its lonely surface upon which, perhaps, still lingered the graceful bark of a wandering Mohegan. At intervals, in the sea of green, a spot of darker verdure, where the boughs stirred more stiffly to the breeze, betrayed the lurking place of the gloomy and frequent hemlock swamps. Around the southern borders of Lake Shoonkeek-Moonkeek, and on some of the Taconic hills, glowed those noble groves of pine, whose fame, attended by a few not unworthy relics, remains to this day. As he descended the mountain side by Unkamet's road, or some other rude path, it would have been strange had not his ear been greeted by the growl of the bear, the howl of the wolf, or the cries of the wildcat and the Canadian lynx; for all then had their dens among the tumbled rocks of the neighboring ravines. As he proceeded, he might have caught a vanishing glimpse of a fox's brush, or the bristling quills of a porcupine. He was pretty sure to startle a brace of rabbits, and send a wood-chuck burrowing to his hole; while squirrels—red, black, grey, and striped—gambolled by scores up and down the shaggy

sides of the great trees. The skunk made his presence known, and perhaps a raccoon, on some fallen mossy trunk, challenged a shot from the ever-ready firelock. But that, the marksman doubtless reserved for the moose which might presently peer at him from the recesses of the forest, the deer that was almost sure to dash across his path, or the wild turkey stalking among the ferns. Above him the eagle and the hawk swept in dizzy circles. From the dank borders of the lake the shrill scream of the loon, and the harsh note of the heron saluted him. The black duck swung on the still waters, and possibly a sea gull, which had wandered inland with the mist of the sea, dipped its white wing along their surface. All the feathered host, which with bright hues, or melodious song makes glad New England woods, fluttered among the overhanging branches."

Such is the picture of Berkshire as first seen by the pioneer settlers, and amid these forests they were to make homes for themselves, disputing possession with the fierce wild beasts, and savage Indians. The settlement of Berkshire was a very different thing from the modern settlements on the prairies of the Mississippi valley. The squatter on the prairie has but to turn over the sod, plant his corn, or sow his wheat, and he reaps a harvest the first year. In the valley of the Housatonic and Hoosac, the forest must be leveled and burned before a hill of beans could be raised. The first thing to be done, was to build a hut that might serve as a protection from the weather and the wolves. This was quite uniformly constructed of logs, notched together at the ends, with the interstices plastered with mud. The chimney was rudely built up of stones, which were also stuck together with mud, and the roof was formed of hemlock boughs. Sometimes the hut was built against some huge boulder, or some steep hill, which served as a back to both shanty and chimney, and one of the early settlers boasted a good deal of this style of architecture, claiming that it was very convenient, as he could feed his fire from the chimney top, and it saved time and labor in cutting and splitting the wood. No patent, however, was taken out for the invention, and the style became obsolete when saw mills and brick-kilns were introduced. These log-houses were pretty rough structures, as the axe and

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spade were the only implements employed in their construction. No wonder that a visitor from Cape Cod, as he came in sight of one of these houses, remarked to his guide, "See, there is a hog-pen with a chimney to it." "Be quiet," was the reply, "that is where your uncle lives."

The interior arrangements and furniture were as rude as was the external appearance. There were no floors, for there were no boards; there were no chairs and tables, for, when Sheffield was incorporated in 1733,—by the way, the first town settled in the County,—there was no road leading from the east into Berkshire, and it was not convenient to bring much furniture horseback. The bedstead posts were crotched sticks, driven into the ground, and in the crotches were placed two stout saplings, one at the head and the other at the foot of the bed, and on these were put, lengthwise, some slight elastic poles, serving the purpose of slats and springs. Pine or hemlock boughs served for a mattress.

> This bed is not so bad a bed as some would like to make it,
> And whether good or whether bad, depends on how you take it.

We slept on a similar one during the late rebellion, and took to it kindly, never sleeping more sweetly.

The home of the Berkshire pioneer settler, with all its equipments and surroundings, was a perfect model of rustic simplicity, and well illustrated the aphorism of the poet:

> "Man wants but little here below."

His culinary vessels were a skillet and a spider. His china closet contained a pewter cup and platter, and possibly a wooden trencher. Some clean birch bark often supplied the place of plates, and was said to be more convenient than crockery, as it needed no washing, the bark being thrown into the fire after being used. The larder was better furnished than the china closet, for game abounded in the forests, and the lakes, rivers, and brooks were full of fish. Moose, deer, wild turkeys, and trout made living cheap. In the memory of men now living, trout, weighing from one to five pounds, were caught in brooks, where now the angler boasts if he can bag one weighing six ounces, and often has to content himself with "a glorious nibble."

So desolate were the hills of Berkshire—Mount Ephraim, they were often called—that a visitor from the east said to his host, as they stood one morning surveying the landscape: "I think you are highly favored up here." "Why so?" said the host. "Because," was his sarcastic reply, "ministers and good men have always been praying for the desolate parts of the earth, and you are entitled to a large share of blessing in answer to their prayer." Even at so late a period as the revolution of '76, when the fishing and coasting business of Cape Cod was interrupted by the war, and some of the shore citizens were induced to come to Berkshire for a living, the pious mother of one of them remarked, as her son left her home, "He has gone to Mount Ephraim, and he will never hear another sermon."

Humble homes, surrounded by a desolate wilderness, do not imply that our ancestors lived in wretchedness and want. If we may trust the letters and traditions that have come down to us, they enjoyed life, and were as well satisfied with it as we are now. Happiness, some one has defined, as consisting in the gratification of our desires. The simple life of the pioneers in Berkshire did not make a demand for a long catalogue of wants, and what few they had, were easily supplied. The very freedom from the wants and restraints of artificial society, gives a fascination to life in frontier settlements. The making of a home, a farm, and a living from the slender materials at the command of the Berkshire pioneers, must have afforded them a pleasure analogous to that of the Great Creator, who, from nothing, made the world and all that therein is, and looked upon his works and pronounced them good. Every pioneer had his gun and rod, and there is an excitement in hunting and fishing that none, but he who has felt it, can realize. When a three pound, or even a one pound, trout snaps the hook, there is an electric communication made through the pole, and felt in the fingers, elbows, and brain, that tells the story more impressively than does the telephone. The pioneer settlers of Berkshire had their pleasure in perfection.

Neither were their log houses destitute of comfort. They were well ventilated in summer, and well warmed in winter,

and always located near some sparkling spring, or rippling brook. "Be sure to locate near some living stream of water," was the parting injunction of a Cape Cod patriarch to his son, as he started for a settlement on Mount Ephraim. The theory of pure air and water might not have been so well understood in those days as these, but necessity and convenience led to good practice, and, with free circulation of air in the shanty, water running near the door, and venison and turkey within gun-shot, the pioneer thought he had the comforts of life around him, and, if a man thinks he is comfortable, we have Scripture authority for believing that he is comfortable. We would not like to go back to log-house life, but we have the assurance of those who once lived in log shanties, and afterwards in spacious framed houses, that they never enjoyed life more than when dwelling under the shelter of hemlock boughs.

Pioneers are proverbially hospitable, and our Berkshire ancestors were no exception to the rule. Letters and tradition affirm that they used hospitality without grudging, and enjoyed its pleasures with all fullness. There was no form and ceremony, and these are not essential to true hospitality. A stranger was welcome to the best the shanty afforded, and a cordial welcome is better than a feast. A friend from "down east" was doubly welcome, as there was no other medium of communication with the old home.

The period of log-house life was not of long duration. In 1735, two years after the incorporation of Sheffield, a carriage road was laid out from Westfield to the new township, which enabled the settlers of southern Berkshire to obtain more conveniences for house-building and housekeeping. This road was also continued to Hudson, and this made an inlet into Berkshire for some settlers from the Dutch colonies of Rhinebeck and Kinderhook. The Dutch civilization was a little different from that of the Yankees, and there was, at first, some distrust of their new neighbors, but there is no evidence that the two collided. Indeed, by social intercourse and inter-marriage, they soon coalesced, so that they differed more in name than nature.

Most of the early settlers of Berkshire were Puritan Congregationalists from Connecticut and the eastern part of Massa-

chusetts. As church and state were then united, the act of incorporation of the several towns quite uniformly required, as a condition of enjoying municipal privileges, that they should settle a "godly, learned, and orthodox minister within three years." For a century after the incorporation of Sheffield, the business of building churches, settling a minister, and raising money for the expenses of the churches of the county was transacted in town meeting. The ministers were paid by the town treasurers, as though they were town officers, and a tax was laid on all the property, for the support of the ministry, just as regularly as for other town expenses. Every person was required to support preaching, but was allowed to select the church for the support of which his tax should be devoted.

This, in most of the towns, was Hobson's choice, for, with the exception of Great Barrington, Lenox, and Lanesborough, where Episcopal churches were early established, and Pittsfield, Hancock, Cheshire, Adams, and Savoy, in which were Baptist churches, Congregationalism had a monopoly of the preaching in the county, and all citizens were taxed for its support.

To the credit of this denomination, it must be said, that its ministers were men of wide culture and pure character, and the county is greatly indebted to them for its intellectual and moral, as well as its religious development. Pastors were then settled for life, and were identified with the interests of the people, among whom they labored, for whom they felt responsible, and over whom they exerted a controlling influence. With scarcely an exception, they were graduates from college, and eminent for scholarship, piety, and practical wisdom. They constituted the aristocracy of the county, using the term, in its original meaning, government by the best. To them, the people looked, not only for religious instruction, but for counsel in all matters of education and civil polity. They were Reverend, not merely from their office, but were truly revered for their learning, piety, and dignified bearing. As they walked the streets, the noisy boys were hushed to silence, and took off their hats in respectful obeisance. Their very dress indicated that they were reverend gentlemen. They wore

wigs and tri-cornered, cocked-up hats, white cravats, long waistcoats—"wescuts," they called them,—short breeches, buckled at the knees with silver buckles, sparkling with paste, silk stockings, and shoes with burnished buckles. It is said of Rev. Daniel Collins, who was settled as pastor of Lanesborough, in 1764, and continued in that pastorate over half a century, that he was so dignified in his dress and bearing that, as he walked the streets of Albany, in his old age, men turned aside and stared at him, as though he belonged to another race of beings.

The array of distinguished divines who left an impress, not only upon society in Berkshire, but upon their own and succeeding ages, is a long one, and time forbids us to do more than merely mention the names of the more distinguished. Jonathan Hubbard, the first pastor in the county, was settled at Sheffield, in 1735, where he died in 1765. The same year in which Mr. Hubbard came to Sheffield, John Sargent was ordained at Deerfield, in the presence of Gov. Belcher, numerous members of the Legislature, and a large body of Indians, and was duly commissioned as missionary to the red men in the Housatonic valley, settling first at Great Barrington, and afterwards in Stockbridge. Mr. Sargent was succeeded in the ministry at Stockbridge, in 1751, by the renowned Jonathan Edwards, thought by many to be the giant intellect of America. Mr. Edwards, being called to the presidency of Princeton college, was succeeded, in 1759, by Dr. West, a famous theologian, who, in the absence of any theological seminaries in the country, taught numerous divinity students. Dr. West was succeeded, in 1819, by Dr. Field, the founder of the Field family. In 1743, Samuel Hopkins, afterwards the distinguished Dr. Hopkins, author of what is called the Hopkinsian system of theology, was settled in Great Barrington, where he remained till his removal to Newport, R. I., in 1770.

The mountain towns, in these days, were not without their famous preachers. In 1744, Rev. Thomas Strong, a man of clear head and great social virtues, was settled in New Marlborough, where he died, in 1777, and was succeeded by Dr. Alexander, who, in turn, was followed by Dr. Catlin, author of

a Compendium of theology. In 1750, Adonijah Bidwell was ordained and settled as pastor over the church in Tyringham. After an honored pastorate of thirty-four years, he died there in 1784, and his name and works still remain.

The clergy in central and northern Berkshire were not settled till about 1750, a quarter of a century behind those in the southern part of the county. The first clergyman in Pittsfield was Rev. Thomas Allen, settled in 1764. He has been called the fighting parson, because he took so active a part in the war of '76, but he is represented to have been gentle and courteous in his manners, while positive in his convictions, and courageous to speak and act for the right. Mr. Allen died in 1810, after a pastorate of forty-six years, and was succeeded by his son, William Allen, afterwards president of Bowdoin college, and he by Heman Humphrey, who, in 1823, accepted the presidency of Amherst college. In 1792, Dr. Hyde was settled at Lee, and three years after, Dr. Shepard at Lenox. These two clergymen, very unlike in their constitutional make-up, were intimate friends during their long pastorates of forty years, and were in death not long divided.

We might enlarge this brilliant galaxy of Berkshire clergymen, but we have enumerated sufficient to show that the county was greatly blessed in the character of those who mainly moulded its institutions and gave tone to society. They were men of mind, and in morals were unimpeached. Their pulpit efforts did not show the culture and wide range of the more modern divines, but they were learned in Scripture lore, and while pointing men to heaven, themselves led the way. We have spoken of them as the aristocracy of the county, but they were aristocrats without knowing it, and would have disclaimed the title. Theirs was an aristocracy of intellect and moral worth, not of wealth, and the power they wielded and the respect they commanded, were not the objects of their ambition, but were freely granted by the people. Purse-proud they could not have been, for their salaries were meagre, varying from £100 to £200, Yankee currency. Still, on this pittance, they were passing rich, for most of them had wives who managed household affairs with great economy, and, by saving

the pence, made a pound go a great ways. Most of them also had, what was called, a settlement, that is, one to two hundred pounds wherewith, in part, to purchase a glebe and erect a house. This was the old style parsonage, the title to which was not in the parish, but the minister held his glebe in fee-simple, and was enabled thereby to eke out a comfortable living, indulge in a generous hospitality, and to bring up and educate a large flock of children. The regular allowance to a family in those days was not two and one-half, as is now the average in Massachusetts, but a baker's dozen, and the ministry set their people a good example in this respect. We have never heard that they preached from the text, "Children are an heritage from the Lord: blessed is the man that hath his quiver full of them," but they practiced on this principle. The wives of modern ministers, with salaries of two to five thousand dollars, sometimes wonder how their predecessors brought up such large families, but we can tell the secret in one case: the mother worked early and late, did her own housework mostly, and not only made her own dresses and those of her children, but aided in the dressmaking of her neighbors, and, as the children came along, one after another, to the number of eleven —not quite up to the regulation number—they were harnessed in to work, each having his or her appropriate duties. On this principle, the more numerous the children, the more help there was in the family. To be sure, the style of living was simple, and the dresses went down from parents to children,—number one, two, and so on, to the eleventh. Rightly managed, there is great economy in a large family. The same cradle will rock a dozen, as well as one.

We must not omit to say, that these early clergy of Berkshire were gentlemen, and, by precept and example, they taught the people good manners. We can not go back in personal reminiscence to the days of Thomas Allen, Dr. Hopkins, Mr. Edwards, and other worthies of the last century, but we have been assured by those who knew them intimately, that they were as courteous in their manners as though they had been brought up at court. The law of love was in their hearts, and when this is the case, it does not take much training to de-

velop conventional politeness. With many of the early clergymen of the present century we came in contact, occasionally at their own homes, but mostly as they visited at the Lee parsonage. It was our privilege to take care of their horses, draw them a pitcher of cider, run down to the store to get a relay of pipes and tobacco, and sometimes to remain in the study while they read and criticised each other's sermons and discussed matters in general. The criticisms were sometimes sharp and incisive, but we remember no instance in which bad blood was stirred. The apostles' injunction, "Be courteous," was ever remembered. After the regular clerical club meeting was dissolved, and apples and cider were brought in, there was an unbending of ministerial dignity, and in the discussion of men and things in general, there was a flow of wit and humor such as we seldom find in any other social circle. Dr. Shepard could tell a story as well as Garrick ever did, and no one could listen to his jokes without convulsions of laughter. The only criticism we can make on the social part of these gatherings, is that they would have been more refined if the ladies had participated in them. The clergy of this period did not look upon their wives as Cæsar did upon his, when he classed her among the impedimenta, the baggage of a journey, but they seldom took them to their ministerial meetings. Possibly this custom of leaving their wives at home was induced by the fact that in the early settlement of the county, there were few carriage roads, and horseback was the common mode of travel, and when the clergy, or others, took their wives along, the latter rode upon a pillion behind their husbands, unless—and this was seldom the case—they could afford to keep two horses. When Mrs. Dr. Hyde first came to Lee, from Cape Cod, she rode horseback, and from Westfield over the Becket hills, there was only a bridle path, indicated by blazed trees. It was to her, a *bridle* path in both senses of the word. Women came to church from a great distance, afoot, and when they rode, it was generally on a pillion, and often a pater familias took his wife behind him and a child or two in front.

In the early history of Williams college, the Board of Trustees was largely made up of the clergy of the county, and it

was the custom of those in southern Berkshire to go up to commencement on horseback, and in company. Dr. Catlin of New Marlborough, Dr. West of Stockbridge, Dr. Hyde of Lee, and Dr. Shepard of Lenox, would jog along together, reaching Lanesborough in time to take dinner with Mr. Collins. On one such occasion, the conversation at the table turned upon the frequent showers they had encountered while passing through New Ashford, and Dr. West, a prompt, energetic man, remarked: "Well, brethren, I have a smart horse and intend to dodge the New Ashford showers this year." As they reached the water-shed between the Housatonic and Hoosac valleys, they saw a thunder cloud rapidly rising from the northwest, and Dr. Shepard, ever watchful for a joke, said: "Now, brother West, let us see you dodge the storm." Dr. West, always quick in his motions, instantly put spurs to his horse, and with a graceful bow and "good-bye, gentlemen," went ahead, the others following rapidly, like so many sportsmen in a race. Dr. West had the best horse and distanced his companions, but on descending the hill, leading to New Ashford village, a gust of wind took off his cocked hat, and with it his wig. As he dismounted to pick up these emblems of his dignity, the others rode by, Dr. Shepard crying out, "Good-bye, Dr. West," and reached the tavern just as the first drops of the shower were falling. Dr. West soon rode up, wet and crest-fallen, when Dr. Shepard could not let the opportunity slip to crack another joke at the expense of the discomfited horseman, and said: "Brother West, you must take for the text of your next sermon, 'Let not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself, as he that putteth it off.'" Dodging New Ashford showers was ever after a standing joke with these grave and reverend seniors, who well understood that there was a time for everything under the sun, among other things, a time to laugh. They were good men, and labored indefatigably to promote the religious, intellectual, and industrial interests of society, and succeeding generations have entered and will enter into their labors.

Next to the church, the school house has exerted the most power in moulding the society of the county, but the teachers

as a class, have not ranked as high in culture and social position as the lawyers. Our fathers built well the foundations of society when they built the church first; the school house next, and the court house last. The mistake was, in paying the school master only a dollar a week and his board, the latter to be obtained by "boarding around," as it was called, that is, stopping only a few days at one house, and then going to another, till the grand round of the district was accomplished. Some of the board was good, some indifferent, and some bad; and with bad board, good teaching could not be expected, certainly few, with such pay, could be expected to enter the profession of teaching as a life work. As a matter of fact, it was considered as a stepping stone to something higher.

Most of the towns in the county at the first meeting after their incorporation, made a liberal appropriation for preaching, but generally nothing was done for years afterwards about establishing schools, and when public schools were established, the appropriation for their support was meagre. Take Lee, for example, with the records of which town we are most familiar. It was incorporated in 1777, and the first money which the town raised was for "preaching the gospel," and it was not till 1784, that a public school was established, when the town voted to raise £40 to be laid out in schooling. For ten years, the appropriation for schools did not vary much from this amount. With such scanty pay, the wonder is that the schools were as good as they were, and that any smart young men and women were induced to become pedagogues. In reality, there were few professional teachers. The schools were taught in summer by young ladies, who, very possibly, were married at the next Thanksgiving, the marrying day of those times, and their place in the winter was supplied by sons of farmers, with whom, at that season, business was not pressing. The acquisition of knowledge is as natural to the Yankee, as the acquisition of money, and in spite of the frequent change of teachers and the poor instruction, most of the youth of this period obtained a passable education. They were greatly aided in this by the public libraries early established in many of the towns. These contained no flashy novels, but were filled with

standard works of history, biography, travels, and poetry. Social circles were instituted for reading these books, and the young ladies, as they spun wool and flax, would have Paradise Lost, or Youngs' Night Thoughts, or some other book before them, and read as they spun. Knitting was a great business in those days for women, and knitting was also compatible with reading. Many ladies committed to memory whole poems, and were well versed in Rollo's Ancient History and Plutarch's Lives; and, it has been claimed by some, who had an eye on the first half century of Berkshire as well as the last half, that the matrons of the first period were more conversant with standard English authors than are their daughters and granddaughters at the present time. We are not competent to express an opinion on this point, but we know one old lady, born in the eighteenth century, who puts us to shame by her familiarity with history and poetry, and the foundation of her education was laid in the public schools of which we have spoken, herself afterwards a teacher. The discipline of teaching tended to the development of many noble men and women in the county. In teaching others, the teacher is taught, and in governing others, the governor learns to govern himself.

The incorporation of Williams college, in 1793, marked an era of a higher literary culture in the county. At this institution, most of the professional men of Berkshire have been educated, and the alumni of this college will compare favorably with those of any other in the country. The culture at Williams has not been simply that of the head. The aim has been to develop true manhood, to educate, that is to bring out, all there is in a student, his physical powers, his religious and emotional nature, his moral sense, and his intellectual faculties. With such strong men at its head as presidents Griffin, Hopkins, and Chadbourne, aided by professors correspondingly strong, the moulding influence of this institution has been felt for good on the professional men of the county, and through them, on society at large. In founding a free school at West Hoosac, Col. Ephraim Williams built larger and better than he knew.

The establishment of a college in the county necessitated

educational institutions of a higher rank than common schools to fit boys to enter upon a liberal course of study. Accordingly, incorporated academies and private seminaries sprang up here and there in the county, all exerting an ameliorating influence upon society. Lenox Academy was incorporated in 1803, and here Levi Glezen and John Hotchin started many a boy on a course of classical education, and fitted many others, both boys and girls, for usefulness in the higher walks of life. Jared Curtis did the same thing at Stockbridge, and a little later, Prof. Dewey opened the Berkshire Gymnasium at Pittsfield. Indeed, select schools were started in all the larger towns of the county.

In social rank, and more especially in political life, the lawyers of the county have ever taken the lead, and the great majority have been worthy of the leadership. At the time of the incorporation of the county, (1761) there were only five lawyers in active practice here, but these five were a host. With such manly men and well-read lawyers as John Huggins and John Ashley in Sheffield, Mark Hopkins in Great Barrington, and Theodore Sedgwick in Stockbridge, the people did not suffer for the want of legal counsel. There was no lawyer in the central or north part of the county at that time; indeed, these sections were then sparsely populated. The towns did not invite lawyers to settle with them, at the first town meeting after being incorporated, as they usually did cleygymen. Pittsfield's first lawyer was Woodbridge Little, who opened an office there in 1770. About the same time, David Noble settled in Williamstown, and was followed, in 1790, by Daniel Dewey. The latter rose to the bench of the Supreme court of the state, and was so thoroughbred a lawyer and judge, that he transmitted a legal and judicial mind to the third generation. How much farther the heredity may extend, time alone can determine. Samuel Quincy, a graduate of Harvard, and of Boston's best blue blood, and John Chandler Williams, another of the same stamp, strayed up into Berkshire, in the latter part of the last century, and settled, one in Lenox, and the other in Pittsfield. These are only specimens of the early lawyers of the county, for time fails us to go through the long catalogue

of distinguished men who adorned the Berkshire bar in the latter part of the last century and the fore part of this.

Justice was not always administered in those days by courts of law. In all new settlements, men are wont to be impatient of the slow and sure legal processes, and to take judgment into their own hands. Berkshire, in its early days, was no exception to this rule. The whipping-post was to be found in almost every town, and beside it, in some instances, was the pillory. If some flagrant crime was committed, it was a great temptation to tie the criminal to the post and give him some lashes without due form of law, or, if a magistrate condemned any one to the pillory, the crowd would often supplement the punishment by jeers, and sometimes by rotten eggs. If the offence was specially aggravating, the offender, without judge or jury, was sometimes whipped, à la Titus Oates, through the the streets. One instance of this, at least, occurred in Lee, and a notorious case occurred in Pittsfield, in which Thomas Allen, Jr., son of parson Allen, was so provoked by a demagogue's slandering his father, that he horsewhipped him through East street, the crowd, and even the first ladies of the village, cheering him, Mrs. Chandler Williams coming out, as they passed her house, with a new whip and saying: "That is right, Tom! Give it to him well! Lay it on the rascal!" It is proper to add that the parson did not approve his son's summary mode of punishment, and, as they passed his house, which was opposite that of lawyer Williams, he also came out and said, "Thomas, my son, forbear; forbear, Thomas, my son." Mr. Smith, who relates this incident in his history of Pittsfield, naïvely adds, "Thomas, more gallant than dutiful, obeyed the lady." We imagine that vengeance rather than gallantry gave vim to the blows.

The physicians of Berkshire exerted less moulding influence on society than did the lawyers, but the county was not without its eminent men in this profession. The early physicians were generally college graduates, and were men of mind as well as medicine. The list includes such names as William Bull and Lemuel Barnard of Sheffield, John Buck and William Whiting of Great Barrington, Erastus Sargent and Oliver Par-

tridge of Stockbridge, John Crocker and Hugo Burghardt of Richmond, Oliver Brewster of Becket, and Timothy Childs of Pittsfield. Physic seems to have been hereditary in some of these families, especially the Sargent, Brewster, and Childs families.

The great men of the early settlers of Berkshire were tillers of the soil, manufactures getting little foot-hold here till developed by the war of 1812. It is a matter for congratulation that our ancestors, though largely of English origin, did not bring with them to America English ideas of large landed estates. "Peasant proprietors," as Mr. Froude sneeringly calls the landlords of small farms, have ever been the glory of New England. If Mr. Froude, the English historian, had ever traveled through Berkshire, he would not have said, "When you pass through a country possessed by one potentate, you see everything in good order and your soul is filled with an air of plenty; when you pass through a country cut up into small possessions, you see the gates broken down, the cottages squalid, the hedges and fences untrimmed, and an absence of good schools, good churches, and such things as public opinion demands." If Mr. Froude can point us to any part of the world owned by large land holders, where the schools and churches are better or more numerous, or where the yeomanry live in more comfortable homes and with more tidy surroundings than we can show him in Berkshire, we will grant that he has some foundation in fact for his theory of large proprietorships and tenants at will. Lord Morpethe, years ago, after looking over the premises of some Berkshire farmers, said, "Your farmers live like noblemen. Their houses, furniture, equipage, and general style of living, are indicative of nobility." The nobility of the Berkshire yeomanry, however, is, and always has been, one of manhood, not of blood. Every farmer is a lord, a landlord, owning his lands in fee-simple, thinks and acts for himself, and has an interest in good neighborhood, good schools, good churches, a stable government, and all that tends to make good society.

It must not be supposed, however, that our ancestors were on a social level. They were too fresh from the kingdoms and

empires of the old country, and too much imbued with the traditions of social rank, to realize Jefferson's principle, that all men are born free and equal. We have already spoken of the clergy as the aristocrats of the county in its early days. A still more palpable proof of the social ranks then existing, was the custom of assigning to each person a seat in the church according to his social standing, "dignifying the seats," as the custom was called. The square pew on the right of the pulpit was the first in dignity, and was assigned to the family of the minister. Generally, those nearest the pulpit were considered the most dignified, and were assigned to the 'squires, the generals, if any there were in the congregation, the colonels, majors, captains, etc., for military rank was held in high esteem in those days of Indian, French, and Revolutionary war. The custom was always provocative of envious and jealous bickering, and happily became obsolete towards the close of the last century, and there is no danger of its ever being revived.

The theme is a fruitful one, but we fear we have already trespassed on your patience. We desire, however, to state the conclusion, to which we long since came, from our limited knowledge of the constitution of Berkshire society in the primitive times, that however good those times were, the present are still better. We have no patience with Froude and others who maintain that society is making no progress; that all things continue as they were, or if there is any change, it is in a circle, and old things come around periodically. This is a slur on Christianity. Society does move, and it does improve. We hear some sighing for the good old days when Reverend So and so, and 'Squire or Colonel So and so gave tone to it. The truth is, the world was never so old as it is to-day, and never contained so many intelligent and good men and women. Where one man gave tone to society in Berkshire a century since, a score, if not a hundred, do now, and the one man is not so prominent, because multitudes have risen to his level. Woman's sphere has been greatly enlarged, and her influence increased, much to the advantage of society. Let us thank God that we live in the present, and see to it that we transmit to posterity our fathers' institutions, not only unimpaired, but enlarged and improved.

DAVID INGERSOLL, JR., ESQUIRE;

A Great Barrington Loyalist of the Revolution.

By CHARLES J. TAYLOR.

DAVID INGERSOLL, JR., ESQUIRE;

A Great Barrington Loyalist of the Revolution.

The subject of my paper is David Ingersoll, Junior, Esquire, a man now almost forgotten, who, having his residence in the town of Great Barrington for a few years immediately preceding the war of the Revolution, acquired influence and position, was a prominent figure in the politics of the south part of Berkshire County, but became an obnoxious Tory, was driven from his home by the populace, and sought refuge in England in the autumn of 1774. The subject is barren of incident, for but little of detail connected with Mr. Ingersoll's active life in Berkshire has been preserved. The whole period of his connection with business affairs is limited to nine years—1765 to 1774,—and with important public matters, extends over not more than six years. In the—nearly a—century and a quarter which has elapsed, all minor occurrences have passed from the memory of man.

This, therefore, is in no sense a history of his life, but rather a review of the part he acted in a few occurrences of a public nature, which, at the time, were matters of great importance to his contemporaries.

His career was brief, his rise was rapid, and his fall in popular favor, meteoric.

To Mr. Robert C. Rockwell of Pittsfield, belongs the credit of having discovered and brought to light much of the material of which I have made use, and which he has generously placed at my disposal.

David Ingersoll, Senior, the father of the subject of this paper, having previously resided in Westfield, Springfield, and Brookfield, settled in what is now Great Barrington, as early as 1739, where he become a large land-holder. He was a trader and speculator, and, in 1739, erected mills and iron works on the Housatonic river at Great Barrington. He was a man

of affairs, energetic and enterprising, and soon occupied a position of importance among the inhabitants. In fact, he became the principal leading man in the North Parish of Sheffield, as Great Barrington then was. He was a captain in the militia, selectman of Sheffield, represented the town in the General Court, and was commissioned a Justice of the Peace, in 1749. But business reverses came upon him; he incurred the displeasure of the Province government, and after 1755—for the last eighteen years of his life, he appears in no public or official capacity.

David Ingersoll, Junior, the son of David Ingersoll and Submit Horton—his second wife—was born in the North Parish of Sheffield, now Great Barrington, September 26th, 1742, and his birth is duly recorded in the town records of Sheffield. Of his boyhood and his facilities for early education, nothing is now known; but that he experienced a more thorough training than was provided by the common schools of that time is evident, as he entered Yale college, from which he graduated at the age of nineteen, in 1761.

He applied himself to the study of the law,—but where, or under whose direction, I am not informed—and was admitted to the Berkshire bar at the April term of the court, in 1765, as was Theodore Sedgwick, at the September term following. Mark Hopkins was already in practice at Great Barrington, having been admitted four years earlier. Mr. Ingersoll began practice in Sheffield soon after his admission to the bar, in 1765, and Mr. Sedgwick opened an office at Great Barrington in the same year. Though there were others, these three young men, Hopkins, Sedgwick, and Ingersoll, represented, principally, the legal talent of southern Berkshire prior to the Revolution.

Mr. Ingersoll was a large man, of somewhat imposing presence, and was wont to exercise a boldness and audacity of manner which won favor with people of ordinary understanding, and, although as a learned and skillful practioner, he may not have been the equal of either Hopkins or Sedgwick, he was, nevertheless, a lawyer of very creditable attainments, and they found in him a competitor, whose powers were not to be too

lightly estimated. He remained in Sheffield until the summer of 1768, when he transferred his residence and business to Great Barrington, and, at about the same time, Mr. Sedgwick removed from Great Barrington to Sheffield. This procedure has the appearance of a mutual business transaction between Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Sedgwick, by which they exchanged places; and this view is strengthened by the fact that Mr. Ingersoll conveyed a house and lot opposite the present Congregational meeting-house in Sheffield, where Mr. Sedgwick afterwards resided. During Mr. Ingersoll's residence in Sheffield, he, equally with others, was interested in the transaction of town business, and his name several times appears as a member of town committees, overseer of the work-house, and surveyor of highways, but he did not hold any of the more important town offices.

Soon after his removal to Great Barrington, he purchased a dwelling house and several acres of land in the village, on which he resided to the time of his departure, in 1774. He was not married, and his sister, Louisa, and his mother (to the time of her decease, in 1772,) are reputed to have presided over his household.

This dwelling house, taken down about five years ago, stood just within the present entrance way to the grounds of Mr. Edward F. Searles, and the elegant stone mansion, erected by Mrs. Mark Hopkins-Searles, stands upon the original home lot of Mr. Ingersoll. Mr. Ingersoll was connected with the Episcopal church, and was one of its wardens in 1770, and later.

In 1767, while still a resident of Sheffield, Mr. Ingersoll was commissioned a Justice of the Peace, and consequently became one of the Magistrates of the court of general sessions. This appointment, then an honorary one, added somewhat to his importance in the public estimation.

After his removal to Great Barrington, he was accustomed to hold court at his dwelling house, and he continued to officiate in that judicial capacity as late as June, 1774, though, as appears from a file of his writs, which is preserved, the actions brought before him were, for the most part, of trivial importance. In the spring of 1769, he was chosen one of the selectmen of Great Barrington, an office to which he was re-elected

for two or more succeeding years, and was, later, for several years—as will hereafter appear—a representative in the general court.

Early in 1773, an effort was made on the part of a few individuals, to bring discredit upon the character of Col. Elijah Williams, the high sheriff of Berkshire county. The principal movers in the affair were Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., David Ingersoll, Junior, Esq., and Samuel Brown, Junior, of Stockbridge. This matter grew out of certain *alleged* irregularities on the part of Sheriff Williams, in causing the arrest of several members of a notorious gang of counterfeiters, and delivering them to New York officers at the state line, as was *claimed*, without proper legal authority for his action.

These counterfeiters, having their hiding places in Berkshire county, were engaged in counterfeiting the paper currency,—the bills of credit—of the colony of New York. In this affair, Mr. Woodbridge appears as the complainant, Mr. Ingersoll, as the promoter and aggressive agent, and Mr. Brown, in the less conspicuous attitude of an acquiescent abettor. Both Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Brown were then members of the House of Representatives. Their efforts were so far successful as to elicit from the House of Representatives a rather mild vote of censure upon the conduct of Sheriff Williams. The means employed for obtaining this vote were not, in all respects, in consonance with truth or honor, and Sheriff Williams, a little later published a lengthy and elaborate statement in vindication of his course.

The history of the counterfeiters, their arrests, trials, the conviction and execution of several of them, together with the persecution of Sheriff Williams, forms an interesting chapter in border lore; but I condense the main facts simply to illustrate Mr. Ingersoll's connection with the affair. Sheriff Williams had, in October, 1772, on a warrant issued by two justices of the peace of Albany county, which warrant had been reinforced by the additional one of John Ashley, Esq., of Sheffield, arrested six suspected persons in Berkshire county, and, as ordered in the warrant of Esquire Ashley, had taken them to

the New York line and delivered them to the New York authorities.

This New York warrant had, a few days before, come into the hands of Ezra Fellows of Sheffield, and he (in company with Sheriff Williams) had applied to Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., to reinforce it with his own warrant, in order to make it operative in this county, and that the suspected persons might be delivered to the New York authorities. Esquire Woodbridge—very properly it may seem—declined to issue his warrant unless the suspected persons should be brought before him or some other justice of this county for examination. Mr. Fellows, not an officer, but who had charge of the warrant, objected to this, for the reason that the evidence against them could only be obtained in New York, and, if brought before a justice in this county, they would escape for want of evidence to hold them, and that the ends of justice would, thereby, be thwarted. Mr. Fellows then applied to John Ashley, Esq., who reinforced the warrant with one of his own, ordering the arrest of the persons named in the New York warrant and their delivery to New York officers. With this warrant, Sheriff Williams caused the arrest of six persons and had them delivered, at the colony line, to officers of New York. Before delivering his prisoners, however, Sheriff Williams, having them in custody at Great Barrington, in order to assure himself of the propriety of taking them over the line, counselled with both Mark Hopkins, Esquire, and Theodore Sedgwick, who united in the opinion that, as the arrests had been made on the legal warrant of Esquire Ashley, he could do no other than deliver the prisoners to the New York officers at the colony line, as ordered in the warrant: this was done.

On this occasion, says Ezra Hickok, in a sworn statement, Mr. Ingersoll "appeared to be greatly desirous that these persons should be conveyed into the colony of New York, particularly requesting me to assist the sheriff in conveying them there, and to be very careful that they should not escape."

At about the same time, October, 1772, a warrant was issued by W. B. Whiting, a justice of Albany county, for the arrest of John Wall (later called John Wall Lovely) another member

of the gang. This warrant, reinforced by Esquire Ashley, who wrote his own warrant on the back of the original, came also to the hands of Ezra Fellows. Mr. Fellows, riding from Sheffield to Great Barrington, with the warrant in his possession, but without official power to execute it, overtook Lovely, riding in the same direction. They rode on together (presumably on horseback) until they came to the house of David Ingersoll, Jr., Esq. Mr. Ingersoll, with Wheaton Hicks and Michael Hollenbeck, was standing by the door of his house. Mr. Fellows stated his circumstances to Mr. Ingersoll, placed the warrant in his hands, and asked what could be done; Lovely "was then going off," and no officer to serve the warrant. Mr. Ingersoll read the warrant, turned it over and read on its back the reinforcement made by Esquire Ashley, and then advised Mr. Fellows to follow and arrest Lovely, and also agreed with Mr. Fellows that if any costs accrued by reason of the arrest being made without official authority, that he (Ingersoll) would pay one-half of the amount. He also requested Mr. Hicks and Mr. Hollenbeck to assist Mr. Fellows in making the arrest. Mr. Fellows followed and captured Lovely, and, soon after, meeting Sheriff Williams, handed over to him both the warrant and the prisoner. Sheriff Williams then deputized Mr. Fellows to take Lovely to the colony line, and deliver him to the New York officers, which he did.

The main points which I have stated, relating to these arrests, are duly substantiated by affidavits of persons connected with them, and by an attested copy of the original warrant, with Esquire Ashley's reinforcement for the arrest of Lovely.

Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., on the second day of January, 1773, addressed, to Governor Hutchinson, a letter of complaint, not fully accurate in its statements, against Sheriff Williams, for his procedures in making the arrests and delivering the prisoners to the New York authorities, and referred the Governor to Messrs *Ingersoll* and *Brown*, Representatives, who, he said, "could give a particular account of the matter." This letter was read in the House of Representatives, January 16, 1773, and was soon after referred to a committee of which both Mr. *Ingersoll* and Mr. *Brown* were members. On the eleventh of

February, this committee made its report to the House. This report contained several mis-statements, prejudicial to Sheriff Williams, one of which was "that Sheriff Williams gave a deputation to Ezra Fellows, to take one Lovely, whom said Fellows seized and carried into the government of New York, it is supposed, by a warrant from two justices of the county of Albany, which warrant, *if he had any, was never reinforced by any justice within this province.*"

This statement, as to the warrant on which Lovely was arrested, was absolutely false. That warrant, as I have said, was reinforced by John Ashley, Esquire, of Berkshire county, and David Ingersoll, Junior, Esquire (one of the committee who made this report) had not only seen and read that warrant, but had advised Mr. Fellows to arrest Lovely, and had agreed to indemnify him for one-half of the costs which might arise by reason of his making the arrest without being legally qualified to do so.

What influence Mr. Ingersoll may have exerted with his associate members of the committee is unknown. Sheriff Williams had stated to the committee that that warrant had been reinforced by Esquire Ashley, which was true, but Esquire Ashley (who was present) probably, through forgetfulness, denied it, and as the warrant was then in the colony of New York, Sheriff Williams had not the means at hand to prove the truth of his statement. When the report of the committee was under consideration in the House, Sheriff Williams presented an answer in writing, which was pronounced unsatisfactory. The House then passed a resolution, censuring Sheriff Williams, in mild terms, cautioning him "strictly to observe the law, and duly to regard the liberty of the subject, in the discharge of the duties of his office in the future;" and requiring him to pay the charge which had arisen upon the enquiry into his conduct.

The real offence of Sheriff William, apparently, consisted in delivering his prisoners to New York officers at the line. But the main cause of the censure, I think, is found in the fact that both the committee and the House were, erroneously, led to

believe that the arrest of Lovely had been made without a legal warrant.

In the discussion which followed the presentation of the answer of Sheriff Williams to the report of the committee, *as Sheriff Williams says*, "Mr. Ingersoll rose, and *with an affrontery peculiar to himself*, took upon himself to assure the House, from his own personal knowledge of the affair, that the warrant, for arrest of Lovely, was not renewed. He ventured, without hesitation, to say that Mr. Fellows applied to him to renew the warrant, so short a space before the time of his actually taking Lovely, as rendered it impracticable for any application afterwards to have been made to Col. Ashley; and that it was not then renewed, so he (Ingersoll) upon consideration of its being illegal, utterly refused to renew it."

This statement of Mr. Ingersoll's probably had an effect upon the passage of the resolution of censure; but the fact remains that the statement was untrue, that the warrant had been renewed by Esquire Ashley, and that Mr. Fellows did not apply to Mr. Ingersoll for a renewal.

Sheriff Williams, a little later, in vindication of his action, published a lengthy statement of the facts of the case, substantiated by the affidavits of many respectable citizens. [Supplement to Boston Evening Post, June 21, 1773].

These were, at that time, matters of greater consequence than they seem to us to-day, and formed a prominent theme of discussion among the people of southern Berkshire.

Sheriff Williams had been instrumental in breaking up a notorious "nest of counterfeiters," four of whom had been convicted and executed; he had rendered to the public a distinguished service, and it is easy to believe, that in the popular estimation, he was deserving of encomium, rather than of the censure he had received. It also seems not improbable that the course of Mr. Ingersoll, in these affairs, when understood by the people, became one of the causes of the popular odium to which he was later subjected.

In the disturbed condition of political affairs, for a few years preceding the Revolution, Mr. Ingersoll, though reputed to have been averse to the general opposition to the Stamp Act,

in 1765, does not come prominently into notice until 1768. From that time until 1774, his efforts, for his own personal promotion, were unceasing, and extraordinarily successful.

At that time, representatives to the general court were chosen jointly by the three towns of Sheffield, Great Barrington, and Egremont; and, at its incorporation, in 1773, the town of Alford was added to this number. The elections were, I believe, held in Sheffield, that being the oldest and most popular town; but so far as I am able to learn, no record of these elections is there preserved.

In 1768, John Ashley, Esq., of Sheffield, was the representative of the three towns, first above named, and was one of the seventeen so-called "Rescinders," who, at the behests of Governor Bernard, voted in favor of rescinding the noted "circular letter" issued by the House of Representatives (February 11, 1768) to the other American colonies, urging them to unite in suitable measures, for redress from the Acts imposed upon them by Great Britain. For this vote, Mr. Ashley was severely criticised at home, and his action was repudiated by a large number of his constituents. Nevertheless, as the storm passed over, and the popular excitement abated, he became a candidate for re-election, in 1769, and was, apparently, supported by the better element among the electors.

If the statement of a contemporary is to be credited, Mr. Ingersoll, at first, favored the candidacy of Mr. Ashley, but discovering, in the prospective, an opportunity for his own advancement, he changed front, and became himself a candidate, in opposition to Mr. Ashley. Mr. Ingersoll was defeated; but the vote which he received, was much more than a complimentary one, was sufficient to encourage him to renewed efforts, and to arrange his plans for the next year's campaign; to this he apparently applied himself.

Mr. Ingersoll, as I have said, had been chosen one of the selectmen of Great Barrington, in March, 1769, and the representative election, at which he was defeated, occurred, probably, in the latter part of May following.

Soon after that election, early in June, a town meeting of the inhabitants of Great Barrington was held, the principal ar-

ticle in the warrant for which, being "to know the sense and opinion of this town with regard to the choice lately made of John Ashley, Esq.," as representative to the general court, and going on to state Mr. Ashley's short-comings in voting to rescind the circular letter. Under that article, the town passed a vote condemnatory of Mr. Ashley, expressing its repugnance at his action, and its high approval of the circular letter.

Both the article in the warrant and the vote of censure are carefully worded, and in their phraseology betray the studied care of a legal mind. Mr. Ingersoll was the lawyer—the educated member of that board of Selectmen, and, in all probability, the writer of both the warrant and the vote of censure; and *now*, apparently in unison with the Whigs of that time, he might with reason, consider this expression of public sentiment an endorsement of himself and his political views—which I have no doubt it was.

At the next representative election, May, 1770, he again took his stand as a candidate and was successful.

He had secured a large following, and though continually opposed by many influential and respectable citizens, who had small faith in the sincerity of his political professions, and who—as in the end appears, not without cause—distrusted his integrity of purpose,—he was elected to the office of representative for five consecutive years, 1770 to 1774, inclusive.

That he had an unusual amount of determination and ability in gathering and marshalling his forces, in spite of the opposition he encountered, is sufficiently evidenced by the successes he attained.

Of his legislative career in the five years of his service, I have little information; but he eventually ingratiated himself with Governor Hutchinson, who had, perhaps, discovered in Mr. Ingersoll, the material and qualifications of an influential ally; and as early as June, 1773, he was favored, by the Governor, with a commission as "Captain of a Company of Cadets at Great Barrington, with the rank of Major." This, by Mr. Ingersoll's opponents, was construed as a reward for the surrender of principles he had formerly professed, and of fealty to Governor Hutchinson.

I am not, however, aware that Major Ingersoll's Company of Cadets ever materialized, but that he became a firm supporter of Governor Hutchinson, there is no room for doubt.

The year 1774,—memorable for momentous occurrences—witnessed the termination of Mr. Ingersoll's political career, and also of his residence in this country.

At the representative election in May, notwithstanding his rumored affiliation with Governor Hutchinson, he had, for the fifth time, been chosen to represent those South Berkshire towns in the General Court, and had, in a neatly worded speech, assured his constituents of his steadfastness in the principles of government, and views of the rights and liberties of the people, which he had ever held, and of his determination to adhere to the same measures he had always pursued. His address, which might be creditable to a modern politician, was well adapted to his own purposes, as well as to the understanding of his constituents, few of whom knew what his political views then were.

The session of the legislature, in June, which Mr. Ingersoll attended, followed very soon after that election. On his return from that session he found, among his constituents, a feeling towards him quite different from that which had, a few weeks before, existed; for it had now transpired and was known that he was one of the signers of that laudatory and complimentary address which had been presented to Governor Hutchinson on the eve of his sailing for England, about the first of June. This, in the eyes of the people, was an overt act, for most had come to regard Mr. Hutchinson with abhorrence.

(Note.—Mr. Ingersoll was also one of the twenty-eight barristers and attorneys who addressed General Gage on the 1st of July, 1774; and a highly respectable company they were, though, of that number, nineteen later became refugees.)

Governor Hutchinson had now left the country; the port of Boston had been closed; her trade and commerce destroyed, and her whig residents subjected to indignities and abuse; a military governor was in power supported by an armed force of British soldiery.

This condition of affairs, perhaps, emboldened Mr. Ingersoll, and caused him to believe that the rebellious spirit of the Americans was to be speedily crushed by military power. He seems now—in the Summer of 1774—to have openly avowed his attachment to British interests,—to have expressed his opinions with arrogance and aggressiveness, and so, generally, to have demeaned himself as to become exceedingly obnoxious to the greater part of the people.

This brought upon him public hatred which soon broke forth in clamor and violence.

Twice, apparently, he became the object of the fury of a mob.

The first of these occurrences was, probably, about the first of August—of this I have no definite information. The Hon. George Sheldon, in his History of Deerfield, records that news reached Deerfield on the 4th of August, from Great Barrington, "that David Ingersoll, a Tory, had been mobbed by the Liberty men."

Lorenzo Sabine, in his "Royalists of the American Revolution," states that "during the troubles which preceded the shedding of blood, he (Mr. Ingersoll) was seized by a mob, carried into Connecticut and imprisoned, while on a *second* outbreak of popular displeasure against him, his house was assailed, he was driven from it, and his enclosures laid waste."

It is difficult to reconcile the two distinct assaults—stated by Mr. Sabine—with other accounts which treat *both* as having occurred on the same day—the 16th of August, 1774—when a gathering of many hundred men prevented the sitting of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas at Great Barrington.

As commonly stated, there was in this assemblage a large number—"300"—of men from Connecticut. The mob attacked Mr. Ingersoll's house, took him prisoner, and carried him to Litchfield County; and, as Sabine says, "imprisoned him;" but the imprisonment, if such there was, was of short duration.

Why Mr. Ingersoll incurred the displeasure of the Connecticut men does not clearly appear.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, in the appendix to his "General History of Connecticut"—a work not commendable for truthfulness—attributes the visitation of the Connecticut contin-

gent—"The Sober Dissenters"—as he terms them, to a desire to put down the Episcopalians of Great Barrington; and after reciting some, perhaps imaginary, indignities perpetrated by the mob upon the Episcopal clergyman—the Rev. Gideon Bostwick— of which, so far as I know, not a trace of a tradition exists—and whose release from the mob was only effected by the "fits of his wife and mother, and the screams of women and children"—the *historian* goes on to say: "As to Mr. Ingersoll, after *demolishing* his house and stealing his goods, they brought him almost naked into Connecticut on the bare back of a horse, in spite of the distresses of his *mother* and *sister* which were enough to melt the heart of a savage, though producing in the Sober Dissenters but peals of laughter that rent the skies."

Without questioning the entire truthfulness of Mr. Peters' statement, I remark that the house of Mr. Ingersoll survived its demolition nearly 120 years, and was only taken down about five years ago, and also that the distresses of the mother of Mr. Ingersoll—so distressingly depicted—savor somewhat of the imaginary, as that good woman had then rested nearly four years in her grave, she having departed this life on the 23d day of November, 1770.

NOTE.—That some damage was done to Mr. Ingersoll's house, I have no doubt. The front door of the house, taken out about 30 years since, was scored with cuts and hacks, said to have been made at the time Mr. Ingersoll was assailed.

It is also not improbable that a rumor went abroad that the house was demolished.

Aaron Burr, then a law student at Litchfield, in a letter to Matthias Ogden, apparently refers to this house as *torn down*, and also to the visitation of the Connecticut men as having occurred at the same time, with the suppression of the Courts. Burr's letter is dated Aug. 17, 1774, but the parts above referred to, I presume to have been written a few days later.

Eight of the ringleaders of that Connecticut mob were arrested, and held, under bonds, for trial in Litchfield County, until the following February, when they were discharged—Mr. Ingersoll having then left the country.

After his release from the mob, Mr. Ingersoll, convinced that his further continuance in Berkshire must be attended

with personal danger, and would not be tolerated, took a hasty departure—finally reaching Boston, where he found rest under the sheltering arms of Governor Gage.

A few extracts, from Mr. Sheldon's History of Deerfield, throw some light upon the route pursued by Mr. Ingersoll in his flight, and upon some attending circumstances; as follows:

"August 19th came news that on the 16th the Court at Great Barrington had been stopped, David Ingersoll mobbed, and the windows of his house broken. * * * * Ingersoll came over the mountains to Chesterfield, but he was out of the frying-pan into the fire. He and Col. Israel Williams were seized by a mob, and compelled to sign a covenant dictated by their captors. Both, with Dr. Ebenezer Barnard (whose wife was a sister of Mr. Ingersoll, C. J. T.) and John Graves of Pittsfield, took to the woods for Hatfield. Here Ingersoll fell into the hands of another mob, which drove him out of town, and on the 24th he sought refuge in Deerfield for rest and comfort. The atmosphere here increased in temperature so fast, that Ingersoll took advice from his friends—perhaps also from his fears—and on the same day turned his horse's head towards Boston—that haven of distressed Tories. His coat and his pocket-book followed him to Deerfield on the 25th."

Of his flight on this occasion, a tradition is preserved among his descendants in England (of whom I will presently speak) probably handed down from Mr. Ingersoll himself—that he was pursued by a large number of horsemen, and being closely pressed, he turned upon his pursuers, unhorsed two or three of the foremost, and made his escape "to Hartford." Such is the tradition, though it is not probable that his route was by the way of Hartford.

He probably arrived at Boston as early as the 1st of September, and on the 12th of that month he mortgaged his homestead in Great Barrington to the Rev. John Troutbeck (himself later a refugee) for the sum of £85,—presumably to raise funds with which to leave the country,—and not long after sailed for England—never to return.

The following somewhat remarkable letter appeared in the "Connecticut Courant" of November 21st, 1774. I present it

entire, for it will not admit of elimination. It represents the character of Mr. Ingersoll from the standpoint of an intelligent and observing contemporary—one evidently familiar with his subject.

Neither the name of the writer, or of the person to whom it was addressed, are known to me, but I venture the assertion that, at that time, there were very few men in Southern Berkshire competent to produce such a letter. It is dated Oct. 29th, 1774.

"Dear Sir:

Yours of the 26th of September last have been duly received, in which you desire me to give you the true character of Mr. Ingersoll, our late representative.

Your request I always consider an absolute command, and as binding me fast as fate:—Shall therefore comply with your requisition, by giving you such remarkable anecdotes of his life, as will serve as an unerring clue to his true character, and that you may have a just idea of the man. I begin my narrative in the year 1765, when he was first admitted to the *bar*—that *bar* which he has disgraced by his *ill-fated* address to *Mr. Hutchinson.*

The latter part of this year, at a meeting of the people of these towns, assembled to direct our then representative, whether he should or should not oppose the operation of the Stamp Act; we had it as his opinion, that opposition thereto was opposing the King—opposing lawful authority, and would, if persevered in, end in ruin of the country.

The two next succeeding years, I pass over in silence, and come down to the year 1768, when he declared himself on the side of the *rescinders*, (as they are called) he then appeared openly in favor of our re-electing one of that number—and for awhile, he exerted himself in his behalf.

But in 1769, before the day of election, Mr. Ingersoll having tho't proper to set himself up as a candidate, found himself in great perplexity—no good objection could be made against the gentleman who had served them the preceding year, but only this, that he was a rescinder, and (as observed above) Mr. Ingersoll had all along adopted his principles, justified his measures, supported his interest, and approved of his political character. In these circumstances, something was necessary to be done besides convincing the people, that our former representative held to principles subversive of English liberty; a palinody was also necessary on his part; which Mr. Ingersoll perceiving, therefore set himself about it in earnest; but the transition was so sudden, and his conduct so suspicious, it failed of its desired effect.

The former representative was again elected. Such a defeat would have baffled the expectations of a person less sanguine, but had no other effect upon Mr. Ingersoll than to fire his ambition to try his fate at another election.

In 1770, his wishes were completed, when, notwithstanding all the difficulties, and all the opposition that lay in his way, behold: he was elected —from which moment, I felt myself deeply interested in his welfare; being sensible that he went to the General Court under many disadvantages, was concerned for the event. It was easy to foresee that most of the leading men of this, and the next County would endeavor to lessen his importance, and destroy his influence.

Added to this, I really doubted whether he was fixed in any political principles or not. Under these circumstances he set out, and returned a triumphant *Whig*.

The next year (being again elected) he blazed out with surprising lustre —his enemies beheld his growing importance—found him superior to all opposition, and had conceived no hope of his destruction but from a latent prospect that his firmness would not keep pace with his pretention—that the dazzling glare around him would obstruct his sight, and the intoxication of applause would make him giddy. Had his political existence ended here, how honorable to his constituents, to himself, and how beneficial to the cause of liberty. But his propitions, unpropitious stars, having not yet shed all their influence, he was (for the third time) elected in 1772.

This year, his friends at Court, and some of his friends at home, perceived the mass of his patriotism to be melted down—his flame for liberty, almost extinguished.

Notwithstanding these ill omens, he was returned a member for the year 1773; when his apostacy was rewarded with a commission, mean in its origin, scandalous in its design, and fatal in its consequences. This was sufficient to convince the candid and intelligent, that he had agreed a truce with the Governor and had left with him the liberties of his constituents, in pledge for a lasting peace.

In some certain circumstances, there is not on earth, a better remedy for a damaged character than downright impudence. Our hero was happy in having a large magazine of *this* at hand, which he applied so successfully, that last May he procured a large majority of votes, and once more had a seat in the house of representatives.

After the choice was declared, putting his hand on his breast, he spoke as follows, viz: "I can lay my hand on my heart and honestly declare, that notwithstanding the restless and wicked efforts of my cruel and inveterate enemies *to ruin* my character, I have never been drawn in but once, to vote with the minority of the House,—my principles of government, my views of the rights and liberties of the people, are the same they have ever been, and shall therefore constantly and steadily pursue those measures which I have ever pursued, and which by your present choice you are pleased to approve of," which words even vibrate in the ears of the four towns who heard them.

The next thing we hear from him is his mean, low, fulsome, scandalous address to a governor against whose measures he has objected, protested, raved. What worse things, what things more harsh, can be said of the vilest miscreants, than I, than hundreds have heard him say of Mr. Hutch-

inson ? What greater objections could be made against the government of an infernal, than we have heard him make against the administration of his now friendly, amiable, impartial and almost divine Hutchinson ?

Now he has a firm persuasion of his inviolable attachments to the real interests of this his native country, and of his constant readiness, by everything in his power to promote its true welfare and prosperity.

How sound these words in your ears? They sound oddly enough in mine.

Still, his good fortune, loath to desert him, would not have left him to his fate, had he not after his return, coveted destruction, beg'd for disgrace, and greedily embraced ruin, even in her dreary cavern.

Thus, sir, have I given a simple relation of facts, without any colouring, without one exaggerating circumstance. If the picture is painful to look on, consider it is taken from real life—that Mr. Ingersoll's own pencil sketched the outline, and his too frequent retouches, have completed the deformity.

That you may not be in doubt with regard to his notions of truth and honor, give the following extracts from one of his letters, wrote since he fled to Boston :

"You may go as far as you think proper in making proposals of accommodations on my part, and I shall undoubtedly be very willing to comply when they are made known to me.—All I have to do or say, is as they shall direct ; for I am far from being conscious, that I have ever said or done anything which savors of criminality."

This extract shows the man to perfection—it needs no comments.

Am, Dear Sir, yours, &c.

October 29, 1774.

After Mr. Ingersoll's departure, his homestead in Great Barrington was taken in charge by proper authorities and leased for several years—and later, after government was re-established, was parcelled out on executions to satisfy the demands of his creditors, and an agent was appointed to administer upon his estate as an "Absentee."

He was proscribed and banished by the Conscription Act of 1778 ; but his property was not confiscated, as has been sometimes stated.

Of the first few years of Mr. Ingersoll's life in England, of his residence, or occupation, very little is known. He did, however, have some correspondence with his sister, Sarah, the wife of Dr. Ebenezer Barnard of Deerfield, and in one of his letters to her, intimated that he might become a member of Parliament. From this, a tradition arose, and has been believed by some of his kindred here, that he became a member of the House of Commons ; but such tradition is untrue.

Several of the Royalists who went to England in the early part of the war "received allowances from the government soon after their arrival."—[Sabine.]

The number of refugees became very large—many hundred—and the allowances came to be regular pensions. Under this arrangement, Mr. Ingersoll received £200 sterling per annum, and as he was then young—a single man—with a profession and ability which fitted him for a business occupation, it may be surmised that he was able to support a comfortable style of living. In 1783, under a revision of the pension lists, by a Parliamentary Committee, by which the pensions of some were increased and of others diminished, Mr. Ingersoll's pension was reduced from £200 to £100.

The first definite information I have of Mr. Ingersoll's residence in England, he was living at Thetford in the County of Norfolk—the town lies on both sides of the river—Little Ouse—which there forms the dividing line between the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. He there held the position of Captain in the East Norfolk militia, and was residing there at the time of his marriage, in 1783.

Until a few years ago, the only information I had of Mr. Ingersoll's family in England, was from a brief notice of him, by Mr. Sabine, in which the names of his wife—Frances Rebecca Ryley—and of his two sons were given.

Six years since, a gentleman and lady (my own kindred) passed the winter of 1891–1892, in London, engaged in literary work in the British museum.

In writing the lady, I jocosely advised her to look up the family of Mr. Ingersoll, and, at the same time, gave her a brief sketch of his history, and the name of his wife—Frances Rebecca Ryley.

The curiosity of the lady was awakened, and she instituted a systematic search of directories and other publications. Her search was rewarded by finding in a "Court Directory" the name and address of Riley Thomas Ingersoll. The name, *Riley*, proved the solution of the problem.

A letter to that address elicited a response from *this* Mr. Ingersoll, stating that he was a grandson of David Ingersoll;

that he knew but little of his grandfather; that he was unable to go to London to see my friends, and inviting them to call upon him at his house, about twelve miles from London. They accordingly went on the 1st day of January, 1892. They found him a large, strong, fine looking man of 72 years, (who a few years before had weighed 19 stone—266 pounds) confined to his house with rheumatism—from which he had been for three years a sufferer—surrounded by a family consisting of his wife (by a second marriage) and six daughters. He also had, by a former marriage, a son living in Tasmania, and a married daughter residing a few miles from his own residence.

A very intelligent and interesting family it proved to be. The old gentleman sent me his photograph, taken in 1887, adorned with the official badge of the "Worshipful Order of Blacksmiths," one of the ancient London Guilds, of which he was then—1887—Prime Warden.

From what was learned by my friends from that family, and a few facts gleaned from records, is gathered what little is now known to me of David Ingersoll's English history.

David Ingersoll and Frances Rebecca Ryley were married at St. Cuthbert's Church, Thetford, June 17, 1783, by the Rev. H. C. Manning, an uncle of the bride. The marriage is recorded on the records of that church, and to the records are appended the signatures of both Mr. Ingersoll and his wife. Frances Rebecca Ryley was baptized October 7, 1761, in the Church of St. Gregory at Norwich. She was about twenty-two years of age, and Mr. Ingersoll in his forty-second year at the time of their marriage. She was the only child and heiress of Philip Kemsey Ryley, and grand-daughter of Sir Philip Ryley of Great Hocham Hall in Norfolk. Sir Philip, who died January 6, 1732, was born at Hocham; he was for many years Commissioner of woods and forests, Ranger of Dean forest, and a Commissioner of Excise.

After his marriage, David Ingersoll resided with his wife at "Hopton House," Hopton, near Thetford, in Suffolk County. He lived as a retired gentleman, was highly respected, and mingled in the best society of Suffolk and Norfolk. He was of large stature, as are his descendants; his wife, on the con-

trary, was below the average size, and they were familiarly spoken of among their friends as the "Giant and the Dwarf."

The children of David Ingersoll and his wife Frances Rebecca Ryley, were:—

1. Philip Ryley Ingersoll, born June 17, 1787; died in 1828. (His descendants still living in England.)
2. Mary Kemsey Ingersoll, born March 6, 1789; died April, 1806.
3. Frederick Horton Ingersoll, born 1790; died at the age of 78 about 1868. (He was the father of Riley Thomas Ingersoll.)

David Ingersoll died at Hopton, November 10, 1796; his death is chronicled in the Gentleman's Magazine, and also in the Ipswich Journal of November 19, 1796.

The record of his burial (at Hopton) from the Hopton Church records, reads:

"Nov. 15, 1796, David Ingersoll late of Thetford, born in the *Province of New England* in North America—aged 54 years."

Mrs. Frances Rebecca Ingersoll survived her husband a little more then seven months; she died at Hopton, June 22, 1767. Her death is noticed in the Ipswich Journal of July 1st of that year. Her burial, at Hopton, is thus recorded:

"1797 June 27, Frances, wife of the late David Ingersoll, aged 36."

I remark in closing, however unjust it may seem to base our judgment of the character of any individual on ex parte testimony, that in the case of Mr. Ingersoll we have no other, and that in the one hundred years which have elapsed since his decease, no person on this side of the ocean—so far as my knowledge extends—has arisen to vindicate his fame or do honor to his memory.

REV. JOHN TODD, D.D.

By ROLLIN H. COOKE.

REV. JOHN TODD, D.D.

John Todd was born in Rutland, Vermont, October 9, 1800. He was the son of Dr. Timothy and Phebe (Buel) Todd.

Dr. Timothy was one of nine children of Timothy Todd, who was a man of note in Revolutionary times: a farmer, merchant, and magistrate. It is worthy of note, that while, owing to the depreciation in value of the Continental currency, his estate was found to be insolvent at his sudden death from small-pox, his sons assumed his debts and paid them in full, showing a sense of honor which is too rare.

Dr. Timothy, the father of the Rev. John Todd, had visited Vermont before his father's death, and was in the battle of Bennington.

When the Revolution was over, having obtained a medical education, he settled in Arlington, Vermont, having first returned to Killingworth, now Clinton, Conn., to marry Phebe, the daughter of Capt. Jehiel Buel.

He built a brick house about two miles north of Arlington, which was standing in 1875, and six of his seven children were born there, and he served in the General Assembly and the Governor's Council.

He wrote many articles for the press, and was frequently called on to deliver orations on special occasions. A few months before the birth of John Todd, Dr. Timothy was seriously injured in an accident, in which he showed great fortitude, and his wife, who had been ill for a long time, was deprived of her reason, on hearing that her husband had been killed. John Todd, as a baby, did not apparently have many chances of living, and it seemed at his birth as if his mother would be left a widow, but the father's strong constitution, and determined will triumphed, and he recovered. After a time he removed to East Guilford, finally settling down in Killingworth, Conn., where he died.

His son's recollections of his father and mother were slight, and he could recall but few incidents connected with them, and according to the experience of nearly every one, remembered most vividly some childish neglect. I wonder if people ever think, when they thrust responsibilities on children, how they sometimes darken their whole lives with a morbid repentance for neglect. While grown people fail every day to do their full duty, why should children be made to feel they have sinned beyond redemption! Before making a child responsible for an important duty, an older person should remember human nature, and share the responsibility, at least.

One of the touching things related in Dr. Todd's autobiography, is, that he never forgot, and later in life could repeat the kind words of a good woman, who talked with him after his father's funeral. The good clergyman who found him weeping at the grave of his father, had common sense as well as a sympathizing heart, and gave him comfort.

On the breaking up of the family, John Todd then only six years old, went to live with his aunt, Mrs. John Hamilton, of North Killingworth. Thirty-five years later he writes to this aunt, recalling his arrival at her house, and the impressions made on his childish mind. The period of his life extends back to the time when the pews in church were "dignified," as it was called, and "Sabba' Day Houses" were in use, and there were no fires in the churches. The accounts we read in these days, when so many of us are delving into the past to ascertain whether our ancestors were great men and good men, or whether they were hung, or deserved to be, show very vividly what sort of life must have been led by a boy who was striving for an education.

John Todd went to Charlestown, Mass., walking there from his home, and lived there for several years in the family of a Mr. Evarts. He had for reading matter such cheerful and enlivening books as "Baxter's Saints' Rest," and "Doddridge's Rise and Progress," the young people of that day not dreaming of what is a matter of course now. Boys at that time had to work hard to get an education, with fewer opportunities for securing positions than is the case to-day, and to-day, too, there

are too many who have all the advantages afforded them by their parents, and do not appreciate their good fortune. In his class at Yale College were many who afterwards became prominent in their various professions. During his vacations, he taught school, as so many did at that time.

In reading Dr. Todd's autobiography, one is struck by the evidence that he had in a marked degree what is known as the "New England conscience," which is something more than morbid, while very commendable. During his senior year at college, he began the use of the pen, which he kept up through life. His first articles were published in the Seaman's Magazine, and later in a little volume.

He developed that taste for the pathetic, and love of making people feel bad, which many young preachers seem to think worthy of much effort. I remember one day, in going from New Haven to Hartford, that two young theologues sat on the other side of the car, and one of them took out the notes of a sermon which he was to deliver on the next day, and read some choice passages, and when he came to one that he thought was pathetic, he would say to his admiring companions, "There, now! I think that'll fetch 'em! They'll cry at that. That's the way to make an impression." Perhaps they were right, but I do not think that people in these days enjoy having their feelings harrowed up to such an extent as they did long ago. However, it's a matter of taste.

Before leaving college, Mr. Todd taught in Weston, a village in Fairfield, Conn., and was urged to remain, but he had made up his mind to study theology, and entered the seminary at Andover, in 1822.

Andover was then a place of great religious importance, and the classes were large, and the professors, men of distinguished reputation, among them Dr. Ebenezer Porter, Dr. Leonard Woods, Dr. Moses Stuart and others.

The conflict between Orthodoxy and Unitarianism was then raging, and the students were full of enthusiasm.

Mr. Todd had met the young lady whom he afterwards married, Mary Brace, when she was his pupil in the Rev. Charles Herrick's school, and she had made such an impression on him,

that at the very first opportunity after entering the seminary at Andover, he went to her home in Newington, Conn., with a letter of introduction to her father, and, in a very few days, made such progress that he gained the consent of all concerned to the opening of a correspondence, and, having won this vantage ground, he retired from the field.

It was on this occasion that he made some remarks at a religious meeting, and the faculty reprimanded him on his return for preaching without a license, and demanded an expression of his repentance, and this was what they gained by it. He rose from his seat, looking very meek and submissive, and said: "I, John Todd, in the presence of this august assembly, with feelings of the deepest contrition and repentance, do express my most heartfelt regret and sorrow, for having on —— day in the village of ——, in a small school house, exhorted the people to repentance, and to seek their eternal salvation through God; and for such a crime, may I be pardoned." It is not recorded that the faculty took any further action.

At the seminary he continued his literary work, among other things, writing a pungent article on Swedenborgianism, which stirred up the believers in that doctrine very much. On February 14, 1823, he records the fact that he began his first sermon. During this time his correspondence with Miss Brace seems to have been successful, in spite of the fact that she had other suitors, for on her eighteenth birthday they drew up and signed a formal contract of engagement, specifying that marriage should take place when "circumstances should render it convenient." That was seventy-four years ago, and it is not believed by the writer that such formal contracts have become more common since, and one is led to wonder what the average young couple of today would say to it. At this time Mr. Todd was so far from being a strong man physically, that one of the professors remarked to a classmate, that he feared he was not long for this world. He was obliged to leave his studies to attend to his health, but after an illness, during which, as he expressed it, he sometimes breakfasted on calomel and dined on jalap, two delightful things that we know little about, he took a fresh start and became stronger.

At about this time he had a short experience as an editor in Boston, but it did not for a moment divert him from his chosen calling. At Andover he was appointed librarian. He began to make his mark as an orator and a writer, and had many invitations to address audiences on various subjects, and to do editorial work. At one time the latter work brought him into the family of the proprietor of the Recorder, Mr. Willis, whose son was N. P. Willis, and whose daughter was Fanny Fern, a writer quite popular many years ago. He seemed in some way to have displeased Fanny Fern, and she expressed herself at a late period. In June, 1823, when he was twenty-three years old, he was licensed to preach by the Suffolk Association, which included the orthodox ministers of Boston, and after speaking in the Park Street Church, he was invited to settle in Holliston.

Soon after this he went to Groton with a friend, and speaks of Dr. Chaplin, the pastor there, as "a kind of Arminian, a man of commanding talents, and, I doubt not, a go-to-heaven man, still he has made all his people Unitarians." The result of a call on him was an invitation to Mr. Todd to preach to a people who hated Andover worse than poison He accepted, thinking, to use his own words "that it was fine sport to take them by surprise." It shows that even a theological student may not be entirely without guile.

His audience, however, was very attentive, and he was complimented after the service. The state of mind of a theological student may be shown still further, by his expression in speaking of a dinner party at that same Groton visit, when he did not enjoy himself, in a company where nothing but "politics and roads, and canals and birds, etc., were discussed, and he could not introduce religion." At this time he had had four distinct offers; a mission to Maine, one to Virginia, one to South Carolina, and one to Savannah, Georgia, all of which he declined, besides a fellowship in the seminary, although he accepted one later. Some of his friends urged him to go on a mission to Palestine.

He preached orthodoxy again to the Unitarians at Groton, and gave it to them in good plain terms, although not alto-

gether to their satisfaction, for, as one said, "every body who comes from Andover has hell-fire enough to send us all to misery."

He created considerable excitement, and had large audiences, and the Unitarians called his followers Toddites. He said himself that he preached at the conscience, and said but little about brimstone.

After this the church voted to give him a call, but the parish, comprising all the legal voters in the town, did not agree, and still later, when he returned to preach to the orthodox, his audiences were large, but the town still voted against him, and at the town meeting, rum was carried by the pailful, even into the meeting house. Of course, the use of rum in our enlightened days, would hardly seem credible, but in my recollection, I seem to have heard whispers of its use at elections, although, perhaps, I dreamed it. To show the feeling in Groton at the time, and to what lengths Mr. Todd's opponents would go, after he had said to the parents at a child's funeral, that they would soon follow their child into eternity, one of the Unitarians reported that he had said that the child had gone to hell, and the parents must soon follow it.

He continued to preach in Groton, having what might be described as a lively time. At this period, he was offered the editorship of the New York Observer, and refused it.

After the building of a church, he was ordained on the third of January, 1827, at the age of twenty-seven. Enough of the pews were sold at auction to pay for the land and the building of the church, and leaving enough to rent.

A revival followed, and from the extra labor, Mr. Todd became ill, although recovering in time to go to Newington to be married.

On the eleventh of March, 1827, after preaching twice, he was married in the evening by the Rev. Mr. Brace, to his daughter, Mary, whose long life of usefulness was only terminated a short time ago.

The wedding trip consisted of a stage ride to Boston, and thence to Groton.

It is recorded that Mr. Todd remained all his life a member of the church in Yale College, never joining any church of which he was pastor, being opposed to it on principle. At about this time they changed their residence, and as a rumor was afloat that the house they had left was haunted, and footsteps and groans heard, an investigation showed that rats were responsible for the footsteps, and a shingle lodged above a fireplace, for the groans.

It illustrates the deep feeling of that day to read the letter written by Mr. Todd, refusing to attend the funeral of a friend, on account of having to take part with a Unitarian minister, beginning by saying "I do believe that Unitarianism is not the Gospel of Christ," and closing in this manner, "By acceding to your polite invitation, I come alongside of a Unitarian minister, and thereby publicly acknowledge him to be a minister of Jesus Christ. Sir, in view of the judgment day, I dare not do it."

And yet we criticise the doctrine of papal infallibility.

Even in those days clergymen were much pestered by agents, and Mr. Todd expresses himself about one of the class in his usual vigorous style, wondering why they sent "such green, raw-headed, self-sufficient, lazy fellows about."

It shows the medical practice of the day and what children survived, that the six weeks old baby, Mary Brace, born September 22, 1828, was given a teaspoonful of salts, and the remark was made in a letter written later on the same day, that "she has needed nothing since." A postscript adds that Doctor Cutter advised a dose of calomel and jalap. It may be out of place to make comparisons, but I have reason to doubt if a prominent member of the medical profession now interested in that family, would endorse that treatment. This same child was taken to church at the tender age of seven weeks, and churches were not so comfortable as now. In 1829, Mr. Todd began to preach on the temperance reformation, and his sermons were strong and to the point.

He continued laboring in Groton, and sometimes a revival would add to the membership of his church.

An instance of the clearness of his expressions is afforded by the remark he made at this time, about a Princeton graduate, at whose ordination he had assisted, to the effect that he was "not very clear in his views and ideas, and that some men were sewed and others only basted together."

In speaking of the election of deacons, which was an innovation, he said he supposed they wanted four, on the ground that "a drink which is injurious, may be made perfectly harmless by diluting."

After having had a call from Salem, in 1832, he accepted one to Northampton, where he began to preach in the town hall, on January 20, 1833, and, on the thirtieth, the organization of the church was completed, and Mr. Todd installed as its pastor. It was organized as the Edwards Church, with ninety-nine members, and a meeting house was built, and dedicated on the following Christmas. He was thirty-three years old at this time.

In July of the next year, he went to Saratoga Springs with his wife, the stage taking them through Pittsfield, and giving them their first view of their future home.

In 1835, he wrote the Student's Manual, which seemed to have a place waiting for it, and I think I may say that I feel personally indebted to it, for I remember reading it with great interest later.

That year, 1835, there was a movement started to organize a Congregational church in Philadelphia, and Mr. Todd had a good deal of correspondence with those interested, and it finally resulted in his leaving the Edwards Church in Northampton, and going to Philadelphia, being chosen pastor after helping to organize the First Congregational Church, on June 7, 1836. The organization was perfected in the Presbyterian church on Arch street, which had been kindly tendered for the occasion. He was installed on the seventeenth of November, 1836, when he was thirty-six years old. A new church was built, and dedicated in November of the following year.

The dedication sermon which made, as its author said, "a simple comparison of Congregationalism with other church systems," was what might be called stalwart, not to say inflam-

matory, for to quote from a letter written at the time, "one universal howl of rage went up from Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Unitarians alike." From Mr. Todd's previous training, and the natural bent of his mind, we can easily believe that he was not dismayed, but rather welcomed the fray. He seemed to think that human nature was not the same thing in Philadelphia as in New England, and I think we may notice remarks made even now of a similar nature, especially by New York papers.

Mr. Todd continued writing for publication, and among other things, his book called the "Sabbath School Teacher," met with great success. He remained in Philadelphia until 1841, having passed through the panic of 1837, which was so disastrous in its effects.

There were dissensions at times in his church, many wishing to return to the Presbyterian form of worship, but the chief trouble was the debt, which swamped the church in the end, even as it does sometimes an individual.

In 1842, at the age of forty-two, Mr. Todd came to Pittsfield, and was installed over the First church, on the sixteenth of February, the Rev. Dr. Shepard, of Lenox, preaching the sermon. It would be repeating a tale told many times, to recall the Pittsfield of that day, with its four thousand inhabitants, and its First Church, which is now a part of Maplewood Hotel.

His people seem to have made a strong impression on their new pastor at once, for he writes, "It is a great, rich, proud, enlightened, powerful people. They move slowly, but they tread like the elephant. They are cool, but kind, sincere, great at hearing, and very critical," and he says further, "The ladies are most abundant, intelligent, refined, and kind." This last remark especially shows Mr. Todd's powers of perception, and to-day, perhaps, he would have said more.

Early in the spring, he brought his family here from Philadelphia, and settled down in what proved to be his home for the rest of his life. He had not been here long when his house was burned, and his family barely escaped with their lives.

In less than a year, a new parsonage was built on South street, in which Dr. Todd lived for thirty years.

The Berkshire Jubilee was held in 1844, and Dr. Todd was one of whose management made it so successful, and he afterwards wrote an account of it, which was printed at the time.

In 1848, he was persuaded to edit a new weekly paper, called the Berkshire Agriculturist, but continued the work only eleven weeks.

His life was a busy one in those years, and he had the troubles caused by sickness and death, which no one escapes. In 1851, an English publisher asked for a sketch of his life, and t was written by one of his daughters, much to his pride and gratification.

To read his letters is to read a history of Pittsfield. He records the completion of the new church edifice in 1853, the various happenings to his people, his own experiences with all sorts and conditions of men, the changes in his family life, the death of his mother after a long life, in which her condition of mind gave her but little comfort, the six years' stay in his household of his wife's father, the Rev. Dr. Brace, his various outings, when preaching or lecturing in other places, his illnesses, his going through a painful operation, and so much that is especially familiar to Pittsfield people that I am embarrassed at having to make a selection of such incidents as seem especially noteworthy, and not to prolong this paper beyond reasonable limits.

His reputation had by this time extended throughout the country. As early as 1855, he visited the west and spoke to twenty-two different audiences. His health became so seriously impaired that he was sent on a voyage to Europe, returning very much strengthened by the change.

I think that to quote his views on one or two subjects may be of interest, for there was nothing uncertain about them.

In 1868 he wrote to some one, "As to the women's speaking, I would pull the plug and let the water out. They will swell and burst perhaps. They all know that you do it under protest, and that *you* don't expect to be edified. It won't last long, and it will soon empty the pond. I believe it unscriptural and

against Scripture; yet there are some things the Gospel bears with and winks at, till better light comes. I would make no proclamation of a change in the programme, but silently let the dear sisters ventilate."

In 1869 he made the journey to California with a party from Pittsfield, and was just in time to take part in the ceremonies of laying the last rail for the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads. He offered prayer on that occasion, and it was printed in every paper of the day. He delivered seven lectures in California with great success to enthusiastic audiences. His admirers in San Francisco told him it would add ten years to his life to live there, and that they would give him a salary of ten thousand dollars in gold.

In November, 1870, among other items, he records these two: "Our new chapel is beautiful; seats six hundred, and by opening doors, will seat two hundred more; cost over twenty-one thousand dollars;" and this, "We have a literary club here, limited to twenty-five, all graduates but one or two. We meet every Monday night; hence its name, 'The Monday Night Club.' It meets at the members' houses in turn, with an oyster and coffee entertainment at half-past nine. It goes well—that is, the eating does."

In that year, 1870, after a pastorate of nearly thirty years, during which he declined many offers to go elsewhere, at larger salaries, he resigned, feeling that he had served as long as he could be expected to, and that he was entitled to rest; but it was not until 1872 that his successor, the Rev. E. O. Bartlett, of Providence, was installed.

In 1873, he preached an historical sermon, giving a sketch of the First Church and its pastors, from the beginning. Since that time, and especially at the great anniversary celebration, several years ago, the history has been continued, and to attempt to add to, or write on, the subject, after Mr. W. L. Adam's admirable sketch, would be painting the lily.

I have tried to confine myself to my individual subject, and am much indebted to his very interesting "Life," as edited so thoroughly and well by his son.

It seemed to me that the main facts of Dr. Todd's life, owing to his prominence among the many prominent clergymen in Berkshire county, should go upon record especially for this society.

He was a man whose influence was felt in the community. He advocated fearlessly whatever course he believed to be right, and later in life, was free from that bigotry which lessened the effect of the preaching of so many sincere, good men. His son's analysis of his preaching, makes especial note of the simplicity of his style, his infrequent use of scientific theology, his great use of illustration and comparison, which his retentive memory facilitated, the gravity and solemnity of his sermons, and his strong common sense and knowledge of human nature. He did not often denounce particular sins, or inculcate specific duties, but aimed rather to purify the fountain of human action.

His son refers to his power of pathos, which led him to indulge in what might be called the luxury of woe sometimes, and to make his hearers feel unhappy to the point of weeping, and it gave him a certain hold on people that he could stir their hearts like that.

His enthusiasm was great, and he had fine imaginative faculties.

In spite of his love of the pathetic, he was fond of fun, but he never allowed that side of his nature to appear when in the pulpit.

Of his writings, his first book called "Lectures to Children" went through many editions in England, as well as here, and was translated into French, German, Greek Bulgarian, Tamil, and other languages.

Of his "Student's Manual," over 150,000 copies were sold in London. Two ladies of his church were at Dr. Spurgeon's church in London, many years ago, and finding the name "John Todd" in a hymn book, and remarking on the coincidence, were told by the usher that he and many others had been brought up on Dr. Todd's writings.

His "Stories on the Shorter Catechism" were well received, and that he was up-to-date was shown by his treatise on

Woman's Rights, published in 1867, which brought down the wrath of Gail Hamilton, whose powers of vituperative writing were not slight.

For more than twenty years he went into the Adirondacks hunting and fishing, and became so familiar with that region that he often dispensed with guides, and incurred their hostility for that reason. The late John C. Parker used to go fishing with him into Canada, and spoke of him as one of the most genial and companionable of men for such trips. While he always carried cigars, he never would smoke but one a day, and that one after supper. One day a question came up of the wisdom of going down certain rapids in the canoe, and Dr. Todd insisted on sticking to the canoe in spite of the risk, and Mr. Parker used to describe him as making a striking picture with his hat off, his hair flying, and his hands grasping the sides of the canoe. At Long Lake, he found a small settlement and after a time organized a church there, and called the attention of the outside world to its needs, and his son reports that several years after the failure of the mission, one of the natives of that region came to Pittsfield, and in talking about his home, and what Dr. Todd had done there, said,—"Oh, yes, the Doctor came up there and did us a great deal of good, sent us a missionary, and organized a church; but he didn't *quite* understand us; why, damn it, *I* was one of his deacons."

He usually had a hobby of some kind, some of which had a very brief reign. Fishing tackle, he was an expert authority on, and kept pace with every improvement. For all this, he did not like to catch fish, and was never fond of them. Guns and ammunition attracted his attention.

A bee-keeping hobby took possession of him in Philadelphia, which was not really a convenient place for its indulgence, but Pittsfield was better adapted for that pursuit It is related that while a hen fever had possession, he saw a handsome rooster one day, while driving home from Albany, and bought it, and the next day, on turning him loose, had every rooster on the place killed in half an hour, his new purchase proving to be a well-trained game cock.

His workshop, with its lathes, and fine tools, is especially remembered and I have heard much about it, and there are many specimens of his handiwork extant, which are highly prized by their owners.

He kept up an interest to the end of his life in the progress of science, and in all the great movements of the day.

He was especially devoted to his home, his church, and Pittsfield, and Berkshire county, never passing by an opportunity to sound their praises. This love of Berkshire county is very apt to take possession of all who dwell within its borders.

His relations with other professions, and especially the medical, were always pleasant. He was made an honorary member of the Berkshire Medical Society.

He advocated heartily the adoption of all public improvements, and was never found opposing any good cause. His extreme aptness for making after-dinner speeches, caused him to be much sought after, and he was a very social man.

He was a trustee of Williams College, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from that institution in 1845.

He died on the second of August, 1873, at the age of seventy-three, and the entire body of people, of all denominations, attended his funeral.

He was of English descent, having come from Christopher Todd, who came from Pontefract, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, England, and was one of the original settlers of the New Haven colony, in 1639.

Christopher Todd became a large real estate owner, and lived to a good old age, leaving three sons and three daughters. The records of his parents and grandparents are in the old parish church at Pontefract, and his father and grandfather were named William Todd.

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THE SEDGWICKS OF BERKSHIRE.

By H. D. SEDGWICK.

THE SEDGWICKS OF BERKSHIRE.

I have been asked by the Berkshire Historical Society to read a paper on the Sedgwick family, including some account of Miss Catharine Maria Sedgwick. This subject has been chosen because the meeting is held in Stockbridge. In other towns other families would have equal or greater historical interest. I hope this explanation will excuse the otherwise preposterous family egotism of this paper.

While still in the midst of a direful war it seems tame, but may not perhaps be altogether unprofitable to turn our attention for a few moments to a brief consideration of the Berkshire family of which I am an unworthy descendant. Certainly the figure to which your attention will be presently drawn is a sweet illustration of the blessings of that peace for whose return we are all praying and which happily now seems in sight.

I hardly need formally outline to you the life of Miss Sedgwick's father, Judge Theodore Sedgwick. It is already tolerably familiar to Berkshire residents. Born in May, 1746, at Hartford, Connecticut, he belonged to the fifth generation in direct descent from Major General Robert Sedgwick, the first of the name to emigrate to America, and who after receiving from Oliver Cromwell the supreme military command of the island of Jamaica, died there in 1656. Through the kind aid of his elder brother John, afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary army, Theodore was partially educated at Yale college, which he left somewhat prematurely owing to an unfavorable view taken by the college authorities of some of his doings outside of the class-room. Thereupon, after some hesitation between the muses of law and divinity, he chose to woo the former, which he did in Great Barrington, under the supervision of Mark Hopkins, grandfather of his namesake, the distinguished president of Williams college. Up to the final breach with the mother country, Sedgwick's loyalty to the crown was

unshaken. Even as late as May 15, 1776, I find him refusing to admit the idea of national independence. How strong a sentiment that loyalty had been, showed itself in after life by his unabated and efficient friendship to honest loyalists, some of whom, such as Henry Vassall, Colonel Elijah Williams, and the three brothers, Peter, David, and Henry Van Schaick, he aided in the recovery of their estates unjustly seized or threatened with confiscation under the severe anti-tory legislation of New York and Massachusetts, and in obtaining their relief from harsh decrees of expatriation. These efforts, as some of the loyalists gratefully recognized, were at the risk of losing his popularity. But notwithstanding his painful reluctance to finally break with Great Britain, no one was more outspoken in his censure of the British government for its unjust treatment of the colonies. Soon after his admission to the bar, which he entered before he was twenty-one, he acted as secretary of two meetings, one of lawyers and another of citizens, both held in Berkshire in July, 1774, to formulate a practical course of peaceful resistance to British usurpation. These resulted in the case of the meeting of the bar, in a vigorous protest against the tyrannical suspension of the courts, and in the other in the adoption of pledges similar to those taken in Boston and elsewhere in New England against the importation and use of British manufactures.

At the outset of the Revolutionary war Theodore served for a time on the staff of General John Thomas during that officer's unfortunate expedition to Canada. On the return of the expedition, after declining an invitation strongly urged on him by Aaron Burr, (then his very affectionate friend though they were afterwards widely alienated), to a position as secretary and aide on the staff of General Putnam, he served during the latter part of 1776 and throughout 1777 as commissary for the northern department of the army. In this capacity, by obtaining provisions on moderate terms at a period of scarcity when, as again long after in the civil war, the times bred cormorants, he perhaps rendered as useful a service to his country as did many known to fame as successful soldiers in the war of independence.

At the close of that war he tried to practice law in Great Barrington, where he took an office, and as Miss Sedgwick says in some autobiographical recollections, like Dennis Bulgruddery in George Colman, Jr.'s play of "John Bull," vainly looked up and down street for a client. In a letter to his son Harry, dated July 16, 1811, describing his professional start in life he says, "I was nineteen years old, and seventy pounds in debt without any means of paying one dollar. For, I believe, nearly two months, I had not a single application. It is true I was almost discouraged, but I continued to hope. I remained in my office night and day without ceasing, and was determined so to remain until despair should oblige me to abandon. Indeed, this being always at your post is the most important object to be observed. An almost momentary absence might be the loss of effectual introduction to permanent competency." At the end of some weeks of uncongenial idleness he removed to Sheffield, where he acquired a large practice, all that there was to be had in that day. In 1785 he changed his residence to Stockbridge, where, says Miss Sedgwick, he soon became the leading lawyer west of the Connecticut. He had, when in active practice, retainers in all important cases arising in Columbia county and the other adjacent counties in New York.

In 1786 and 1787 he took an active part in suppressing the rebellion known as "Shays' war," which, as you are aware, was the culmination of the resistance in some counties of the commonwealth, including Berkshire, to the efforts of creditors to collect debts, and of the state to collect taxes from an impoverished people. On the occasion of an expected collision between the state forces and the insurgents, although the government troops on the ground were hardly a fourth of the insurgents in number, Judge Sedgwick, with a touch of martial instinct, which might perhaps have been the making of a soldier had he taken the field instead of the forum for his career, detecting signs of hesitation among them, rode in front of the advancing rebels and, assuming an air of authority, ordered them to lay down their arms, which most of them did, while the others made off on their legs. He was a pet object of hatred to the malcontents, and on one occasion, when riding

on the circuit, was joined by two truculent fellows, who did not know him by sight, rather fortunately for him, as the conversation turned unpleasantly on the public troubles, and, in the course of it they expressed a lively desire to cut the judge's heart out and refresh themselves with a cup of its blood.

Mr. Sedgwick received a fair share of state and federal honors. He was a delegate to the convention which formed the constitution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and of that which after a memorable struggle ratified the federal constitution. He was a member of the old Continental congress, that body of which Chatham said, that "for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia," and was successively chosen either to the House of representatives or the United States senate in the first six congresses under the constitution, in the last of which he was speaker of the House. He was district attorney in the western district of Massachusetts, and was subsequently attorney-general of the commonwealth. He was appointed a justice of the Massachusetts court of common pleas, but never took his seat on that bench. He was twice a commissioner on the part of Massachusetts to settle the boundary between this state and New York. The secretaryship of the treasury was offered him by Washington after Hamilton's retirement from the office, but declined. In 1800 he was chosen major-general of a division of militia. Having withdrawn in 1801 from public life, against the wish of his party and the entreaties of his friends, among whom Chief Justice Marshall and Rufus King may be mentioned, he died in 1813 while on the bench of the supreme court of the state, of which he had been for eleven years an associate justice.

Judge Sedgwick, though able as a lawyer and statesman, was perhaps more remarkable for the force of his character than for the brilliancy of his talents. An uncompromising federalist and cordially hated by some of his party opponents, no man in congress, in his day, was more respected or more upright. Efforts were twice made during his public career to cast a slur upon his integrity, once when he was at the head of the north-

ern commissariat, early in the Revolution, after making enemies among the dealers by his stern exaction of good weight, full measure and fair price, and once in the fourth congress, when the speculators Randall and Whitney approached him and other influential members of congress to solicit their aid in obtaining the sanction of the House to the purchase of the peninsula formed by lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, containing nearly 60,000 square miles and afterward constituting the state of Michigan. In both instances his integrity came out absolute, without shadow or stain. If it be true that a man is known by his companions, Sedgwick's character is sufficiently established by the high respect of Washington and the intimate friendship of most of the eminent members of his party. Washington on frequent social occasions gave him the place of honor at his table, and almost uniformly treated him with an affectionate deference of manner. Once only the slightest coolness existed between them. It was during the period when the fixing of the site for the capital of the nation was under discussion. From considerations of what he thought public convenience and equity, Mr. Sedgwick did not immediately acquiesce in the position on the banks of the Potomac, which was naturally dear to Washington, who for a time appeared to misconstrue his non-approval. Soon after, however, the president did full justice to the purity of his motives by drinking his health at a presidential dinner, in an emphatic and significant manner. A list of Sedgwick's close friends includes Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Rufus King, Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, Nathan Dane, James Bowdoin, and most of the great federalists who aided in establishing the national government. Hamilton's last letter, written the day before the great tragedy of his death, was to him. In letters from some of his distinguished correspondents, such as Gore, Rutledge, King, Ames, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Carroll of Carrolton, and various others, there is an intensity of admiration and affection which sound strange to ears accustomed to the colder expression of our generation.

His personal courage, as shown in the above mentioned incident of his dispersing the Shays' mutineers or in sharp discus-

sions on the floor of congress with the opposition leaders, such as Madison, Gallatin, and Giles, was invariably unflinching. I fear, indeed, that a close scrutiny of the congressional records will show that the founders of the republic have received from their descendants rather more credit than they were entitled to for self-restraint and decorum on the floor of Congress, and that Judge Sedgwick's demeanor there was on some exciting occasions far from unruffled or respectful to his forensic antagonists. Nevertheless, he had, as an almost unbroken rule, great personal dignity, and through his courtesy of manner and his judicial enforcement of professional propriety after his taking a seat on the supreme bench of Massachusetts, a great change for the better was introduced into the manners of the bar of Berkshire and indeed of the Commonwealth. At the same time, as I have intimated, he had an impetuous, not to say imperious, nature, though it was never betrayed in his domestic relations, and he might have earned from Dr. Johnson the praise of being a good hater. His federalism was so intense that it was impossible for him to recognize any virtue politically in the democrats whom he invariably referred to in his letters and conversation as Jacobins, sharing heartily the convictions of that honest federalist clergyman who declared that he would not say that every democrat was a horse-thief, but that he would say that every horse-thief was a democrat.

Sedgwick's federalism, however, did not prevent his being really a democrat in that original sense which made him the kindest of neighbors, not less among the very poor than the well-to-do. Yet he had a certain aristocracy of temperament which led him to choose his associates from among the well-bred and cultivated, and it was in times of political controversy only that he was led to regard the mass of the people as a mere mob. No doubt he shared the faults as well as the virtues of his party, and when the power passed from the hands of that grand but rather bigoted old party and Jefferson was elected, he half-thought that all the sacrifices of the Revolution had been in vain. Like Webster at a later day who saw "no star of hope above the horizon but the intelligent, united and patriotic whig party of the United States," he be-

held beyond the eclipse of the federal party no coming dawn, nothing but blackness and ruin. Poor mortals, both! Wise in the short-sighted wisdom of their generation, how would language fail them if they could look to-day on the Great Republic and its almost too proud position among the nations. The danger now is that we become too mighty, too imperial.

Two of Sedgwick's conspicuous characteristics as a statesman were, first, his faith in *government*, and second, in a liberal political *economy*. Wherever a motion was introduced, the result of which would tend to transfer to congressional committees or to fritter away in any respect or degree the legitimate executive power of the president or the heads of departments, Sedgwick was counted on with absolute certainty to oppose it. Whenever a needless or extravagant appropriation was proposed in Congress, for even in those days which in public dealings we are inclined to think of as more rigorously honest than ours, "jobs" were not unknown, no man was more sure to scent the "job" and raise the warning.

Judge Sedgwick had always intense anti-slavery convictions, though in practice these were controlled by the compromises of the constitution, and the legislation conforming to them. He was, indeed, chairman of the committee that reported to the House the bill that became the original fugitive slave law, and I find among his papers a bill of sale by John Fellows to Theodore Sedgwick of a negro woman and girl, dated July 1, 1777. No explanation of this purchase has been preserved, though it was undoubtedly made from humane motives, and probably to save the "chattels" from a hard taskmaker. Sedgwick was one of the earliest members of the Pennsylvania abolition society, founded in 1775, of which Franklin was the first president. The defense of Elizabeth Freeman, known as Mumbet, the slave of Colonel Ashley of Sheffield, who had fled to his protection from the cruelty of an infuriated mistress, is known to most of you. The decision then obtained by him giving her freedom was the first practical construction which made the declaration in the newly adopted bill of rights of Massachusetts that "all men are born free and equal," something more than a "glittering generality." Together with a

judgment of similar purport soon after rendered in Worcester county, it precipitated the extinguishment of slavery in our noble commonwealth. Mumbet remained in his service until her death. She lies in the Sedgwick burial plot in Stockbridge. Those who would know what the negro race is capable of should read there her epitaph.

In Judge Sedgwick's well known dissenting opinion in the case of Greenwood against Curtis, in 1806, he held against the majority of the court that an action could not be maintained in this commonwealth on a promissory note given in Africa for a balance due on a contract for the purchase of slaves, even independently of a stipulation in the contract, which was in evidence, that the note and the account were parts of the same transaction. This opinion would, I think, be accepted to-day by the legal profession as sounder law than that delivered by the distinguished chief justice of Massachusetts on behalf of the majority of the court. In Congress, Judge Sedgwick was a steady worker, and as chairman of various important committees, reported much of the constructive legislation by which the fabric of the federal government was built on the foundation of the constitution. He reported all bills by which new states were admitted to the Union during his term of congressional service, and some of the amendments to the national constitution proposed in the first Congress and after ratified by the states. He debated on equal terms with the leading members both of the Senate and the House, and though his speeches were generally confined to succinct arguments, he sometimes spoke with a power which, had he desired such distinction, might perhaps have given him a reputation as an orator equal to that of his intimate friend, Fisher Ames. I will refer as an illustration to a speech made by him in March, 1796, in the House, just before his transfer to the Senate. It was on the occasion of Edward Livingston's famous motion after John Jay's negotiation of our first treaty with Great Britain that the president of the United States be requested to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States who negotiated the treaty, with the correspondence and documents relating to it. Madison, Giles and other

leaders had spoken in support of the motion. To Mr. Sedgwick was confided the duty of leading the opposition to it. Of his speech, which in the eyes of the administration and their friends, amounted to a demonstration that the treaty-making power was vested by the constitution exclusively in the Senate and president, and admitted of no right of advice or even of examination on the part of the House in the formation or adoption of a foreign treaty, no skeleton even can be given in this paper. Although it failed of defeating the resolution, which was reserved for the president's veto, it was perhaps more praised than any delivered in Congress up to that time. When after some hours speaking, Mr. Sedgwick stopped from exhaustion, not of his subject, but of his strength, members with whom he was unacquainted as well as his friends crowded round him with compliments and thanks. Miss Patterson of Philadelphia sent him a delicate restorative confection with a note, thanking him for his "irresistible eloquence." The vice-president, who was present, took him by the hand, pressed it cordially, and said: "From my heart I thank you, I will not flatter. I never flatter, you least of all men, for I know you would despise it, but your speech for matter, style and delivery exceeds anything I ever heard, and I have heard much good speaking." Rufus King said it was one of the most perfect models of eloquence in the language, and George Cabot gave it similar praise. At a dinner of distinguished men in Philadelphia, Mr. Robert Morris, who for some years had not been on friendly terms with Mr. Sedgwick, said before the company, "There has been a great deal of good speaking in the House on the present subject, but I think that all the speakers ought to join in cursing our friend, for he has so distanced every one that their speeches compared with his appear mere trash," adding that "it was precisely such as he himself would have delivered if he could speak as he wished,—it was absolutely perfect." Chief Justice Ellsworth said to Uriah Tracy that till then he "had comparatively never heard good speaking." Letters of congratulation poured in from all sides. I quote a few sentences from a letter of Christopher Gore, dated Waltham, March 31, 1796, "Your speech on Livingston's motion has de-

servedly attained first place in the esteem of all the good and wise, and has put the subject in the best and strongest light. We here consider it unanswerable. Aristotle or Demosthenes or some other wise Athenian has somewhere said that to make a good oration you should say everything that can be said on the subject, and no more, and in the best manner. Your oration, in my humble opinion, contains the first and last quality, and if you had omitted the unjust praise of the Virginians, I would allow that it squared perfectly with the Athenian rule." A very effective passage in his speech was his contrast of the position taken by Madison, George Mason, George Nicholas and Edmund Randolph in the debates in the Virginia convention by which the Federal constitution was ratified, in support of that construction of the treaty-making power which they now defied.

Since this famous debate no serious attempt has been made by the House of Representatives to encroach on the exclusive right of the Senate to make foreign treaties.

Party-spirit raged fiercely during the first years of the republic, and Judge Sedgwick's inflexibility made him enemies in Congress as well as out of it. An unsuccessful attempt was made to censure him during his term as speaker, and the resolution of thanks which was tendered him at the close of his speakership had many dissenting votes.

One of Judge Sedgwick's most delightful traits was his domestic disposition. Nothing could exceed his devotedness to his children, or the mutual affection that existed between him and them. His letters to his wife during his many and long absences from home, though written in the elaborate and formal style of that day, overflowed with expressions of the tenderest solicitude for her health, which was often very delicate. His kindness of heart endeared him to his neighbors as warmly as he was detested by the Shay's men of other towns and counties who did not know him personally, and to whom he was the embodiment of federal tyranny.

He was married three times: first to Eliza Mason, a daughter of the elder Jeremiah Mason, who died within a year of their marriage; second, to Pamela Dwight, daughter of Brigadier

General Joseph Dwight, and third to Penelope Russell, daughter of Charles Russell, who survived him. His ten children, of whom eight lived to mature age, were all born of the second marriage.

Of these three sons, Theodore, Henry Dwight, and Robert, reached distinction in the law. Theodore was the author of a considerable treatise on "Public and Private Economy." He was elected to the Legislature of the commonwealth for many years successively, and was repeatedly, though unsuccessfully, the democratic candidate for governor. His failure of election was not to his personal discredit, as the state went always whig. He was one of the first and stanchest advocates of the construction of the Western, now Boston & Albany, railroad, which was derided by Basil Hall and other Englishmen as a chimera, and which, when built, far outdid any previous triumph of railway engineering. Henry was the author of a remarkable pamphlet on the cumbrous absurdities of the pleading and practice at common law, which suggested to the late David Dudley Field, who in the beginning of his career, was a junior partner in the law office of H. D. & R. Sedgwick, in New York city, that plan for a codification of the procedure of the courts, which, as well as Mr. Field's further efforts to codify the common law itself, has gone far toward revolutionizing the judicial administration of justice, both in the United States and in Great Britain and her dependencies. Charles, who, for the greater part of his life and up to his death, was county clerk in Berkshire, left a memory dear and sweet to the people of his town and county. He had a captivating humor resembling that of Charles Lamb.

Susan, the wife of Theodore, and Elizabeth, the wife of Charles, both remarkable and interesting women, were writers of excellent juvenile works. To the expansive social energy of Mrs. Charles, and the elegant manners of Mrs. Theodore, which would have graced a court in old England, society in this part of Berkshire owes much, I believe, to-day. If originality and beauty of character, if vivacity and social charm were credentials to public notice, I should have the privilege which is now denied me of laying a little chaplet on the be-

loved graves of Jane, the widow of Henry, and Elizabeth, the widow of Robert.

Katharine Maria was the fifth of the Judge's children. Though the circle of those who remember her is rapidly narrowing, her name is yet familiar and beloved among these hills. It is not to be regretted that the facts of her life, few and simple as they are, cannot be given in this paper. By those who care for details, they will be found in Miss Dewey's memoir of her, and in biographical sketches in some of the encyclopaedias. What I should like to describe if I could to those who have not had the privilege of knowing her, is the exquisite feminine charm and the gracious influence of her personality. As an author she had the good fortune to be first in point of time among her sex in this country in the field of fiction. Her works had a wide reputation for their portraiture of New England life and customs in the days before Mary Wilkins and William Howells had made that field their own. Her books for young people, some of which still have a lingering charm for a few of the sophisticated children of the present day, deserve, in my partial judgment, to remain on the shelf with Miss Edgeworth's for generations to come. Indeed some figures in her larger books, of which the story runs through our valley, are so identified with the scenes around us, Magawisca with "Sacrifice Rock," Crazy Bet with the "Ice Hole," that they will linger long among the localities they still vivify and make real to the few survivors of the last Berkshire generation. We cannot say that,

> The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Roll mingling with her name forever,

but for some of the passing generation at least, the Housatonic and Konk's brook may yet seem to syllable her name.

Regarding her as a woman and not an author, of course the class of which Miss Sedgwick was the type still exists, and if personalities were permissible I could in our little Berkshire circle even, point out one who has her grace, another, her strong sense, another, her sprightliness, another, her exquisite sympathy; but do not think I am not sensitively alive to all the virtues and attractions of this generation, if I say I do not,

from my limited experience, know where to find in one maid or matron the assemblage of all these qualities as they were united in her.

Miss Sedgwick was born for the country, and delighted in every sound and scent that belonged to unpolluted nature, and though after Christmas she passed the remainder of the winter with her sister-in-law in the city, she always yearned to get back to her rural life and neighborly charities. Though so fond of cultivated society, she seemed made for the flowers and the hills; and one might fancy that she drew from the first the delicate grace, and from the other, the sturdy vigor with which she charmed and sustained her rustic neighbors. She lifted her eyes to the hills from whence came her strength. That instinct of true democracy which she inherited from her federal father, with the kindness and benevolence welling up like twin perennial fountains in her heart, her femininity never outstepped, her exquisite modesty, which, like the robe of Pudicitia, was never loosened, made her what I like to fancy as the type of the genuine American woman. Fortunately for her brothers and their families, fortunately, too, for society, her absorbing domestic affections prevented her grasping any of the many manly hands which, some of them belonging to fine and distinguished heads, were offered to aid her solitary journey through life. She was famous for her hospitality, and was never more charming than at the breakfast parties, of which she had caught the idea in England from those favorite entertainments of Samuel Rogers, and which she delighted to give in her little addition to her brother Charles' house in Lenox, always known in the family as "the wing." Beginning with the early days, when first the Italian, and afterward the Hungarian exiles, who thronged in the first half of the century to our free and welcoming land, how many persons of distinction at home, how many famous for literary success as well as political misfortune abroad, who brought letters to Miss Sedgwick from Sismondi or Miss Mitford or some other European correspondent, found seats at her simple but bountiful and tasteful table!

During the series of years when Mrs. Kemble was a summer

resident of the little house at Lenox called "the Perch," she was often at these delightful breakfasts, and after the refection she, sometimes with the other guests and Mrs. Charles Sedgwick's school girls grouped spellbound around, read aloud a play of the great master. Ah! those enchanted days! "Hans Breitmann gif a barty. Vere is dat barty now?" In the evenings, with Mrs. Charles Sedgwick's aid, she often had a gathering of young people, at which there were some of those simple diversions which under their inspiration and guidance then took the place of, the costly and formal entertainments of the present day. One favorite game was this: A basket containing slips of paper with written queries and another containing corresponding slips, each having a single word written on them, were passed around. Each person present took a question and word at random, and wrote an answer introducing the word. These answers were read aloud, and the skill shown in bringing in an incongruous word made the fun. Here is one I chance to remember. The question was, "Who is the prettiest girl in the room?" The word to be brought in was "Hood." The verse ran as follows:—

> Oh! horror! oh murder! oh Donner and Blitzen!
> I'm in the worst scrape a chap ever gits in;
> So many bright eyes now piercing me through.
> Tell which are the brightest, oh what can I do?
> I ne'er can decide. What mortal man could?
> So I bow to the feet of fair woman*hood*.

Christmas eve and St. Valentine's day, and indeed, any party of young people furnished occasions for letting off impromptu skyrockets in verse. There was a charming black-eyed girl among Mrs. Charles Sedgwick's scholars named Ellen Perry, the sister of the Horatio Perry, who was afterward United States minister to Portugal. Some swain had had the good fortune to see her fishing from a boat on the Stockbridge Bowl, and produced some verses, which after rapturously describing her manifold witcheries, ended somewhat as follows:—

> A fly or a smile she has flung for her bait,
> And the pike and the hero seek freedom too late.
> Had I the sweet harp of the bard, Allan Bane,
> I would steal from its strings an appropriate strain,
> Which, in musical numbers, should softly awake
> Another fair Ellen, the maid of *our* lake.

That hope is in vain, but this be my share,
That I may be caught by an angler as fair,
Or that through this life the helm of my wherry
May have pilot as lovely as Miss Ellen Perry.

If the poor fellow were caught, I fear the fair angler let him drop and bestowed herself, though I hope not her rod, on some fortunate young Izaak Walton.

I recall a scrap of wit on one of these occasions of which I was made the victim. Justly or unjustly, a high degree of devotion was attributed to me for a certain Miss Mary Foote, of whom, to my regret, I have lost sight in the engulfing years that have flowed over us since. The muse made me her butt in the following fashion :—

Here's wonder on wonder ! Swift Hal of the Wynd,
Still farther to hasten the march of his mind,
And at distance unmeasured all rivals to put,
Hath ta'en to himself an additional *Foot*.

A collection of the mottoes and society verses of those happy days, if it could be made, might be a little incentive to the introduction of a dash of intellectual charm into the elegant *conversaziones* of the present time.

I beg pardon for bringing such unprecedented frivolity into a Historical Society paper. My only excuse, if a poor one, is the desire to show a phase of Miss Sedgwick's character most likely to be forgotten, but which ought not to be forgotten. Her inexhaustible love for young people was, perhaps, her most captivating characteristic. She delighted in them, and they idolized her. Her sympathies were unbounded alike with children to be petted, exiles to be consoled, the happy and successful to be congratulated, the poor and distressed in every rank and condition of life. Wherever she moved in our quiet valley, she was followed and embraced by the love and respect of all. With a captivating grace of appreciation perilously near, but yet escaping, flattery, she made old and young feel that each was the object of her solicitude and friendship. May I be forgiven if forgetting for the moment the astonishing progress of our day and people in arts, and how signally, alas! in arms, and the social refinement and splendor of this opulent

and ambitious generation, I unduly exalt for a moment the grace, the simplicity, the unstrained joy of the social life of my young days, which has passed away, but, I trust, not forever. In every village there is a potential Miss Sedgwick. May I hope that the type will recur and expand, and as evolutions, like revolutions, never go back, may not there yet be in every Berkshire village a central and presiding feminine influence, whose sweetness and grace, whose purity and loveliness shall (without the dreadful ballot) woo back to society the genuine simplicity, the unsophisticated charm, which, in the days gone by, made Stockbridge and other villages of the plain so delightful a solace for the old, so permanent a joy for the young.

THE BIRDS OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

By WALTER FAXON
and
RALPH HOFFMANN.

THE BIRDS OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

Berkshire is the westernmost county of Massachusetts and extends across the state, from Connecticut on the south to Vermont on the north. Its western border is formed by the New York line, and on the east it is bordered by the counties of Franklin, Hampden and Hampshire. Its length from north to south is about fifty miles; its width, though fairly constant, varies from twenty-four to fourteen miles. The extremes of latitude are 42° 2′ N. and 42° 44′ N., and it is comprised between the meridians 73° W. and 73° 30′ W.

With the exception of Worcester and Barnstable Counties, none of the political divisions of the mainland of Massachusetts possess such a marked topographical individuality as Berkshire County. "The Berkshires" constitute a well-defined region—one which, from its natural beauty, is constantly becoming more widely known and loved, and it is partly on account of this ever increasing popular interest in the region, that the authors have felt justified in presenting in this paper their knowledge of the avifauna of Berkshire.

Two ranges of hills, running north and south, and separated by valleys of varying width, constitute the most marked feature of the topography of Berkshire. Along the western or New York border, run the Taconics, a series of more or less isolated hills, through which comparatively deep side valleys have been worn. This range includes Berlin Mountain (2804 feet) on the north, Potter mountain (2410 feet), Perry's Peak (2077 feet), and the great mass of Mount Everett, better known in Berkshire as the Dome (2624 feet), which occupies the southwestern corner of the county. The eastern half of the county, as well as the western part of the adjoining counties to the eastward, is occupied by a broad mass of rugged upland, including a comparatively broad watershed, with a steep western and a long eastern slope. This rugged mass forms the greater part of the "Berkshire Hills," so-called. On its summit lie the "hill

towns," and it is here (and in one other circumscribed region) that the naturalist finds the most characteristic, and therefore the most interesting, part of the field. The general altitude of the upland, to which, for convenience, the name Hoosac Plateau may be given, falls from about 2000 feet in the northern towns, Florida, Savoy and Windsor, to about 1500 feet in the southwestern towns, Sandisfield and New Marlboro. The peaks rise above the general level to the height of 2400 feet and once to 2840 feet in the north, and to 1700 or 1800 feet in the south.

This plateau, however, yields in interest, even to the naturalist, to the noble mountain mass that rises in the northern end of the county, between the Taconics and the Hoosacs. No mountain in Massachusetts equals Saddle Mountain in altitude, beauty, or interest. Its highest peak, Mount Greylock, rises 3505 feet above the sea, and 2700 feet above the valley directly below it. Its more inaccessible slopes are clothed with the few remaining patches of primeval forest in the state, and, since much of this forest is spruce, the list of birds found on the mountain includes many which until recently were not known to breed in any other part of the state.

A few words concerning the streams which drain the county. For three-quarters of its length Berkshire is drained by the Housatonic and its tributaries. This river draws its source partly from two lakes which fill part of the comparatively broad valley about Pittsfield, and partly from streams flowing down the steep western slope of the Hoosac Plateau. Except for a few miles in the town of Stockbridge, the Housatonic flows south, and through the lower part of its course it is bordered by wide alluvial meadows, which with the river's fringe of tall willows, constitute one of the chief charms of this part of Berkshire, their peaceful aspect serving as a foil to the rugged nature of the hills. The northern end of the county is drained by a much smaller stream, the Hoosac, a tributary of the Hudson—little more in reality than a mill brook. Its valley is narrow, its course swift; only at the edge of the county—in Williamstown—does it flow more gently through comparatively broad, flat meadows. The eastern edge of the

county—in other words, the eastern slope of the Hoosacs—is drained by the upper waters of certain tributaries of the Connecticut River. Thus, in the extreme south-eastern part of the county, the Farmington River forms for a few miles the boundary of Sandisfield, and near the north-eastern corner, the Deerfield skirts the eastern side of the township of Florida, while the intermediate eastern border-towns are drained by branches of the Westfield River.

The largest lakes of Berkshire are the two alluded to above —Onota and Pontoosuc, with an area of 683 and 575 acres respectively—and Great Pond in Otis. The first two are in the highway of migration and are visited annually or irregularly by many water birds. The other bodies of water are chiefly mountain ponds—either natural glacial lakes, or artificial reservoirs formed by damming the brooks. The southern half of the Hoosac Plateau abounds in these small bodies of water. The upper part of the Hoosac River has also been dammed and a long pond, known as the Cheshire Reservoir, has been thus formed.

The absence from any region of extensive flats, marshes, or swamps has a marked effect on the bird population of that region. The reeds at the heads of some of the lakes, and a few small swamps on the upland, have been the only spots in which the few rails, gallinules, bitterns and ducks in the following list have been found in the breeding-season.

There is, as is well known, an intimate connection between the vegetation of a region and its insect and avine fauna. The presence in any hill-town of a thick spruce wood or a fir swamp is an unfailing index to the ornithologist. In the former, Black-and-Yellow Warblers and Golden-crowned Kinglets will be found, in the latter, White-throated Sparrows. It is the presence of this spruce and fir that marks the limits of what is known to ornithologists as the Canadian faunal region. The well drained slopes of the Taconics, and the valley of the Housatonic, offer no congenial home to the above-named birds. It follows that the Canadian birds are restricted in Berkshire to the Hoosac Plateau and to Saddle Mountain, occurring in scattered colonies from Becket northward, and in a continuous

belt over the greater part of Saddle Mountain. On the slopes of the Taconics and on the western slope of the Hoosacs, there are tall forests of deciduous trees, oaks, chestnuts, maples, and birches, with an admixture of hemlocks. In the valley, too, there are scattered groves of similar trees, and large patches of young or old white pine. In the town of Sheffield, the flora has a more southern aspect; a few savins (*Juniperus virginiana*) occur, gray birch (*Betula populifolia*) covers the dry plains, and in the open fields beard-grass (*Andropogon*) and bush-clover (*Lespedeza*) abound. A noticeable feature of the Berkshire flora, however, even in these dry fields, is the absence of pitch pine (*Pinus rigida*), which nowhere occurs in the groves so characteristic of Eastern Massachusetts.

The undergrowth and shrubbery of a region often exert as important an influence on life as the trees. On the slopes in the Housatonic basin, mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*) covers acres of mountain-side, while on the ill-drained Hoosac Plateau the roads are bordered for miles by tall willows (*Salix discolor*, *S. rostrata*, etc.). In the laurel tracts, the characteristic song of the Black-throated Blue Warbler is continually repeated, while in the bushy willows the emphatic *quee-quee* of the Alder Flycatcher is a characteristic sound.

The Housatonic Valley continues from Southern Berkshire through Western Connecticut to Long Island Sound, reaching in its lower course a region in which there is a strong admixture of so-called Carolinian birds—birds, that is, which are common from Southern Connecticut southward, and but rarely found outside this region. The Southern Water-Thrush and the Orchard Oriole are two Carolinian birds. Since there is no barrier between the region where these birds abound and Southern Berkshire—the Housatonic Valley in fact affording an easy passage northward—their presence in small numbers in the county was to be expected. In fact, the Southern Water-Thrush has been found breeding in Sheffield, and the Orchard Oriole occurs regularly, though sparingly, in the valley as far north as Lanesboro.

Altitude has as marked an influence on the flora and fauna as latitude. It is this fact that gives Greylock its great interest

in the eyes of naturalists. Rising as it does far above the surrounding country, it has the character of an island of northern vegetation—a bit of the Green Mountains thrust to the southward, just as the low, sterile plains of the Southern Berkshire towns present the characteristics of Connecticut fields pushed northward. Greylock is clothed to the very summit with fairly tall trees, so that it lacks the Alpine aspect of extremely lofty mountain tops. Nevertheless, there has been found on the top of Greylock on several occasions a bird whose normal habitat is the edge of the tree line of the loftier northern mountains. This bird is the Bicknell's Thrush, found on Slide Mountain in the Catskills, and some of the higher peaks of the Adirondacks, the Green Mountains of Vermont, and the White Mountains of New Hampshire—but no where else, as far as is known, in Massachusetts. Besides this interesting bird, a number of Canadian birds which occur only sparingly elsewhere in the county, are either common or abundant on Greylock. Such are the Winter Wren, Olive-sided Flycatcher, Mourning Warbler, and Brown Creeper.

Besides Bicknell's Thrush and the Southern Water-Thrush—species found only in these isolated spots at the two extremes of the county—a third bird has been found in Berkshire which, as far as is now known, breeds nowhere else in the state. In two limestone cliffs in North Adams, two pairs of Rough-winged Swallows have reared their young, probably for an indefinite number of years. This swallow is a characteristic Carolinian bird, found from Southwestern Connecticut southward. Its breeding so far north as Northern Berkshire seems to depend upon the presence of the limestone cliffs.

Geographically considered, Berkshire County belongs more properly to New York and Vermont than to Massachusetts. This is shown in the flora by the presence of necklace poplar (*Populus monilifera*) along the streams, and the rich spring flora, including *Dicentra*, *Hydrophyllum*, *Viola canadensis*, etc., in the woods. The presence of several western birds is in keeping with this feature of the flora. The Red-headed Woodpecker occurs here and there, the Migrant Shrike has been found nesting in Williamstown, and the Prairie Horned Lark breeds regularly in several of the northern towns.

It remains to say a few words concerning the manner in which this list has been prepared. Neither of the authors, unfortunately, is a resident of the county. The information which they have obtained concerning the birds is the result of several summers' study in various parts of the county, particularly at North Adams and Stockbridge, and of visits made to the same places in winter. Repeated visits have also been made in the spring and autumn, especially to Lanesboro, where the broad valley, serving as a highway for migrating birds, offers exceptional facilities for the observation of transients. It is clear to any one conversant with the problems of the distribution of birds, that nothing short of long residence, winter and summer, in a region, justifies an observer in speaking with any degree of positiveness of its avine inhabitants. No one can feel more keenly than the authors of this list the scantiness of the material they have to offer. This is especially true of the larger spring and autumn migrants, the water fowl, and of the winter stragglers, the northern hawks and owls. The authors have of course supplemented their personal knowledge with whatever trustworthy information they could obtain from others. They are particularly indebted to Mr. R. T. Fisher, for the use of his notes made in Lanesboro.

The bibliography at the end of the paper will show the published sources of information available for the purposes of this list.

If a bird's occurrence in the county is positively affirmed, and no authority is given, it is to be assumed that the authors themselves have found the bird in the county. In other cases the name of the observer follows the record.

The authors have not attempted to give any account of the life of the birds listed, unless such information applies particularly to Berkshire County. It has not seemed desirable to repeat here facts already available in a number of manuals of ornithology. Occasionally, however, the authors have inserted some items of general import which have not found their way into the manuals.

Meagre as the results may be, the authors feel that the fairly complete list of summer residents justifies publication, and they

venture to hope that some resident of the county may be stimulated to make careful and continuous observations over an extended period.

1. Sialia sialis (*Linn.*).

BLUEBIRD.

The Bluebird is a fairly common summer resident in Berkshire, generally distributed throughout the county, though nowhere abundant. It arrives during the first half of March (March 10–19, Williamstown, Dr. Emmons), and departs for the south in October, a few lingering through the early days of November (November 2, 1891, North Adams).

The Berkshire Bluebirds, in common with the rest of their kind, suffered lamentably from the effects of the winter of 1894–95 in the south. Their recovery, however, was quick; by the third summer (1897) they had, to all appearances, regained their normal numbers.

2. Merula migratoria (*Linn.*).

AMERICAN ROBIN.

Abundant summer resident, arriving March 8 ('Forest and Stream,' X. 1878, 297) to March 20 (Dewey). Departs in November. Although not so often seen in winter as it is near the sea-board of Massachusetts, the presence of the Robin in sheltered places in Berkshire in February and even in January is attested by both Dewey and Emmons.

3. Hylocichla mustelina (*Gmel.*).

WOOD THRUSH.

Fairly common summer resident, mostly found at the lower levels, and even there unequally distributed. One found breeding at so high a level as 2400 feet (Greylock mountain). Arrives from the south about May 10. (See below, under *Hermit Thrush*).

4. Hylocichla guttata pallasii (*Cab.*).

HERMIT THRUSH.

Prior to the winter of 1894–95, the Hermit Thrush was a common summer resident at a level of 800 feet above the sea

and upward to about 2900 feet on the higher mountains. The destruction of this species in its winter quarters during the storms of January and February, 1895, must have been appalling, for since that time it has become a comparatively scarce bird on its former breeding-grounds. Up to this time (1899) there appear no signs of its regaining its normal status. Some curious local changes in the bird distribution, consequent upon the decimation of the Hermit Thrushes, were noted by us. The Wood Thrushes of the Greylock Notch, previously found in any numbers only in the deciduous woods at the lower end of the Notch as high, say as 1000 or 1200 feet, in the summer of 1895 invaded the higher levels, supplanting the Hermits in the spruce pastures up to an altitude of 1800 feet.* This would seem to show that *competition* is a factor concerned in the distribution of closely allied species on mountain sides, as well as temperature, vegetation, etc. It will be interesting to observe whether the Hermits recover their territory at some future day.

The Hermit Thrushes arrive in Berkshire early in April (April 6, Stockbridge); the most of them depart by the first week of November.

5. Hylocichla ustulata swainsoni (*Cab.*).

OLIVE-BACKED THRUSH.

Not uncommon summer resident on the Greylock range, from 2800 feet up to the summit, 3505 feet; met with sparingly on this range in summer in certain dark ravines as low as 900 feet. It also breeds commonly on the Hoosac Plateau in the townships of Florida, Savoy, Windsor, and Peru (altitude 1800–2000 feet). In the low country of Berkshire it is known only as a spring and autumn migrant. Our earliest date for the spring arrival in Berkshire is May 3, 1899 (Lanesboro), but it does not reach us in any numbers before the 12th or 15th of May. From that time it may be found in deep

*See F. H. Allen, in St. Johnsbury Caledonian, September 11, 1896, who noticed a similar increase of Wood Thrushes at the expense of Hermit Thrushes at Willoughby Lake, Vermont, during the summer of 1896.

woods, often practising its pensive ditty in subdued undertones, till toward the first of June, when it retires to the spruce forests of the mountains, or the regions further north.

6. Hylocichla alicle *Baird.*

GRAY-CHEEKED THRUSH.

Rare transient visitant, latter half of May and September.

6*a*. Hylocichla alicle bicknelli *Ridgw.*

BICKNELL'S THRUSH.

This bird is a very rare summer resident near the summit of Greylock Mountain (altitude 3505 feet). On the 6th day of July, 1888, the senior author of this paper shot a male there as recorded in the "Auk," VI. 1888, 106. [Brewster, 2d ed. Minot's Land Birds and Game Birds of New England, 1895, p. 466]. This bird had been observed singing on the same spot for four days before it was shot, and on dissection the condition of its organs clearly indicated a breeding bird. Another male was found near the same place, in full song, on the 29th and 30th of July, 1895 (Faxon, Auk, XII. 1895, 392). Yet again, a pair was found (the male in full song) near the top of the mountain on the 18th and 19th of June, 1896.

7. Hylocichla fuscescens (*Steph.*).

VEERY.

The Veery, or Wilson's Thrush, is the most abundant of the Hylocichlæ in Berkshire County, being generally distributed in summer both in the low country and in suitable locations at high levels where the ground is damp and affords a bushy undergrowth. On one occasion we detected a pair of Veeries in the breeding-season nearly up to the summit of Greylock, where the song of the male formed part of a trio with the Olive-backed and Bicknell's Thrushes.

Arrives May 3 to 10, but does not sing freely till the middle of May. Withdraws to the south early in September; seen once in Stockbridge as late as the 17th of that month.

8. Regulus calendula (*Linn.*).

RUBY-CROWNED KINGLET.

Rather common transient visitant in the spring and autumn. Arrives in April and lingers into May (13th, North Adams); again in the autumn from the 23d of September through October, on its southward journey.

9. Regulus satrapa *Licht.*

GOLDEN-CROWNED KINGLET.

Not uncommon permanent resident in the spruce forest of Saddle Mountain and the Hoosac Plateau from Becket northward. Rarely found elsewhere except as a winter visitant, invading the valley country as early as the 11th of September. There is a pair in the possession of Mr. J. M. Stevenson of Pittsfield, labelled, "Great Barrington, July, 1886, Mr. Schurr."

10. Parus hudsonicus *Forst.*

HUDSONIAN CHICKADEE.

Rare winter visitant. Greylock Mountain, December, 1889 (Faxon, Auk, VII. 1890, 408).

11. Parus atricapillus *Linn.*

CHICKADEE.

Permanent resident. Common.

12. Sitta canadensis *Linn.*

RED-BELLIED NUTHATCH.

Not uncommon permanent resident in the spruce belt of Saddle Mountain, and of the Hoosacs (Florida, Savoy, Hinsdale), varying in numbers different years. We have also found one in summer in the Ice Glen, Stockbridge. In the low country at large this species is known only as a spring and autumn migrant or winter visitant.

13. Sitta carolinensis *Lath.*

WHITE-BELLIED NUTHATCH.

Permanent resident. Not uncommon.

14. Certhia familiaris americana (*Bonap.*).

AMERICAN BROWN CREEPER.

Breeds in considerable numbers in the coniferous forest on Greylock Mountain. We have also found it on one occasion in the township of Savoy in summer (July 3, 1899, altitude, 2000 feet). In most parts of the county it is only a winter visitant, arriving from the north about the 23d of September.

15. Cistothorus palustris (*Wils.*).

LONG-BILLED MARSH WREN.

Very rare summer resident. July 17, 1897, the junior author heard one or two singing in the marsh at the upper end of Pontoosuc Lake, Lanesboro. There were none there in 1898 and 1899.

16. Cistothorus stellaris (*Licht.*).

SHORT-BILLED MARSH WREN.

The Short-billed Marsh Wren is a summer resident in Berkshire county of local distribution. We have observed it in Stockbridge, Lenox, and Lanesboro, and it is included in Chadbourne's list of the birds of Williamstown (1858). Arrives May 14 (Lanesboro). Have seen it as late as the 2d of October (Lanesboro).

17. Anorthura hiemalis (*Vieill.*).

WINTER WREN.

Chiefly a spring and autumn migrant, though many breed on Greylock Mountain, and we have detected a few in summer in Great Barrington, Stockbridge, Lanesboro, Becket, and Washington, where they presumably breed in cool, shady swamps. On Greylock the Winter Wren breeds at an elevation of 2000 feet and upwards. We have noted the spring arrival of the Winter Wren as early as April 11th (Pittsfield); it lingers on Mt. Greylock so late as October 26, but we have no winter record for the county. It is a very rare winter bird even on the sea-board of Massachusetts. The autumnal passage of migrants sets in by September 15.

18. Troglodytes ædon *Vieill.*

HOUSE WREN.

A fairly common summer resident in some parts of the county, although nowhere abundant. More common in the southern part of the county (Sheffield, etc.) than in the northern and hill towns. Generally found near farm-houses, though a few breed in wild forest sprout-land, in the dead stubs, remote from houses. Arrives about the 1st of May. Seen up to September 24.

19. Harporhynchus rufus (*Linn.*).

BROWN THRASHER.

Summer resident, not very rare, yet not nearly so common as in the eastern part of the state.

20. Galeoscoptes carolinensis (*Linn.*).

CATBIRD.

Common summer resident, except in the more heavily forested districts. Arrives May 1 (1899, Lanesboro), May 6–8 (1831–33, Williamstown, Emmons). Departs in early October.

21. Mimus polyglottos (*Linn.*).

MOCKINGBIRD.

Very rare, perhaps accidental, summer visitant. Mr. R. T. Fisher tells of one that he used often to visit in order to enjoy its song, near the Cheshire Reservoir, through July, 1896. This is the only definite record we have.

22. Anthus pennsilvanicus (*Latk.*).

AMERICAN PIPIT.

Transient visitor in the spring and autumn, more common in autumn than in the spring. Our only spring records are May 4, 9, 1899 (Lanesboro). Autumnal migration begins September 22.

23. Helminthophila rubricapilla (*Wils.*).

NASHVILLE WARBLER.

Abundant migrant and common summer resident, more common at high levels than in the low country. Arrives about May 1, departs toward the end of September.

24. Helminthophila peregrina (*Wils.*).

TENNESSEE WARBLER.

Rare spring migrant, May 13–24; found in apple orchards and also along water courses (Lanesboro, North Adams). Probably many more pass through Berkshire than through the eastern counties of Massachusetts. Although one was discovered on Mt. Greylock on the 15th of July (see "Auk," VI. 1889, 102), there is no satisfactory evidence of its breeding in the county or state. Doubtless passes through the county on its way south in the fall, although as yet we have no autumn record.

25. Mniotilta varia (*Linn.*).

BLACK AND WHITE WARBLER.

Not uncommon summer resident. Rarer in the more elevated parts of the county. Seen as late as September 27.

26. Compsothlypis americana usneæ *Brewst.*

NORTHERN BLUE YELLOW-BACKED WARBLER.

Summer resident, not common, and local, its distribution controlled by the growth of Usnea. Rare on Greylock but often met with elsewhere in small numbers in elevated, swampy regions. Arrives May 3 (1899, Lanesboro).

27. Dendroica æstiva (*Gmel.*).

YELLOW WARBLER.

Summer resident. In Berkshire County this bird is almost exclusively found in the low country which has been brought under cultivation. In such places it is a common tenant of the willowed banks of streams and ponds. Arrives about the first of May. Departs about the eighteenth of August.

28. Dendroica pennsylvanica (*Linn.*).

CHESTNUT-SIDED WARBLER.

Abundant summer resident, May 2–September 19.

29. Dendroeca blackburniæ (*Gmel.*).

BLACKBURNIAN WARBLER.

The Blackburnian Warbler is an abundant summer resident of the spruce forest of Mt. Greylock, and is also fairly common in the breeding season in the townships of the Hoosac Plateau, from Becket northward. In the low country it is chiefly met with during the migration periods, although it breeds dispersedly throughout the county, in hemlock and white pine woods, even to the southern border (Sheffield). This most beautiful of all the warblers reaches Berkshire County from the south early in May (May 2, 1899, Lanesboro). We have seen it as late as September 25.

30. Dendroeca virens (*Gmel.*).

BLACK-THROATED GREEN WARBLER.

Common summer resident of the spruce and pine tracts. Extremely abundant on Greylock; together with the Blackburnian, it is the most numerous warbler in the spruce region of the mountain. Observed at North Adams as late as October 19.

31. Dendroeca maculosa (*Gmel.*).

BLACK AND YELLOW WARBLER.

Common summer resident in spruce regions from Becket northward. Prefers somewhat open pasture-lands, growing up to spruce. Arrives early in May (May 5, 1899, Lanesboro), departs in September. Latest seen, October 1 (Lanesboro).

32. Dendroeca coronata (*Linn.*).

YELLOW-RUMPED WARBLER.

Extremely abundant during the vernal and autumnal migrations (April, May, September and October), a few remaining through the summer to breed. The breeders for the most part seek the spruce forest of Mt. Greylock and the Hoosac Plateau, though we are disposed to think from our observations that a few breed even in the valley towns (Pittsfield, Stockbridge), in white pine groves. Prodigious numbers of Yellow-rumps

passed through Berkshire in the spring of 1899. The wave was at its height from the 3d to the 12th of May, ebbing slowly to its subsidence on the 24th. Most of the females passed during the latter half of the month, when on certain days they preponderated heavily over the males.

The autumnal passage ends about November 1.

33. Dendroeca palmarum (*Gmel.*).

RED-POLL WARBLER.

Rare transient visitant in September and October. September 20, 1892 (Stockbridge), September 23–25, 1899 (Lanesboro), September 29, 1898 (Lanesboro), October 1, 1898 (Lanesboro), October 2, 1898 (Lanesboro), October 22, 1891 (North Adams). The last is an exceptionally late date for this bird. The specimen was shot and is now in Mr. William Brewster's collection.

33*a*. Dendroeca palmarum hypochrysea *Ridgw.*

YELLOW RED-POLL WARBLER.

Common spring and autumn transient. Comes in April; by the first week of May most of them have passed on to the north, although we have seen a single one as late as the 14th of that month (Stockbridge). The autumnal passage occurs from September 29 to October 22.

34. Dendroeca castanea (*Wils.*).

BAY-BREASTED WARBLER.

Rare spring and autumn migrant. May 13–22, September 7–17 (Lanesboro, Dalton).

35. Dendroeca striata (*Forst.*).

BLACK-POLL WARBLER.

Common transient visitant, May 17 to June 7, September 7 to October 23. We once found a loiterer in Lenox on June 14. Dr. Brewer says that the Black-poll Warbler "has been seen in North Adams in August, with young so immature that they must have been of local origin" (Bull. Nuttall Orn. Club,

III. 1878, 139). We have been unable to find it in the breeding season, even on Greylock.

36. Dendroeca vigorsii (*Aud.*).

PINE WARBLER.

Very rare summer resident. North Adams, May 22, 1889, one female shot, with eggs nearly ready to lay (Auk, XII. 1895, 89); Stockbridge, July 7, 1895, one male; Lenox, July, 1898, several males together; all of these in white pine groves. The Pine Warbler appears in Chadbourne's list of Williamstown birds, 1858, on the authority of A. Hopkins.

37. Dendroeca cærulescens (*Gmel.*).

BLACK-THROATED BLUE WARBLER.

Common summer resident on the Taconic, Greylock and Hoosac ranges. Found more rarely in summer in favorable localities in the low country. Very abundant on the Taconic Mountains near the southern border of the county, in mixed deciduous woods, with dense undergrowth of mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*). Arrives May 5 (Lanesboro).

38. Dendroeca tigrina (*Gmel.*).

CAPE MAY WARBLER.

Rare spring (and presumably autumn) transient visitant. May 2, May 7, May 14 (female), (Lanesboro). No autumn record.

39. Siurus aurocapillus (*Linn.*).

OVEN-BIRD.

Common summer resident; arrives May 6 (Williamstown, Emmons) to May 10; last seen, September 27.

40. Siurus motacilla (*Vieill.*).

SOUTHERN WATER-THRUSH.

Very rare summer resident. The sole record is Sheffield, June 11, 1896, a pair feeding fledged young (Faxon, Auk, XIII. 1896, 344).

A Water-Thrush was observed in the township of Washington on the 28th of June, 1899, but we are uncertain whether it was the northern or southern species.

41. SIURUS NOVEBORACENSIS (*Gmel.*).

NORTHERN WATER-THRUSH.

Common transient visitant, May 1—June 2, and August September. Although one individual was seen in Sheffield as late as the 17th of June (Faxon, Auk, VI. 1889, 46) there is no evidence of its breeding in the county.

42. GEOTHLYPIS TRICHAS (*Linn.*).

MARYLAND YELLOW-THROAT.

Common summer resident, not only in the valleys, but in the deforested wet grounds of the highlands, as, for instance, on the Hoosac Plateau. Arrives May 7 (Lanesboro).

43. GEOTHLYPIS PHILADELPHIA (*Wils.*).

MOURNING WARBLER.

Summer resident of very restricted range, breeding in considerable numbers in the sprout-lands of the Greylock Mountain system. Outside of this range we have found the Mourning Warbler in the breeding-season in but two localities, and those not far off, viz. on the hills on the opposite side of the Hoosac River in North Adams, and, in the same direction but much higher up, on the Hoosac Plateau near the boundary separating North Adams from Florida. In each of these places only one or two pairs were detected.

The breeding birds reach Mount Greylock by the 14th of May. Transient birds are not often seen, but these probably arrive at a later date. In Eastern Massachusetts, where the Mourning Warbler is known only as a migrant on its way to and from more northern breeding-grounds, the vernal passage falls between May 21 and June 6, oftenest after May 26. We therefore incline to think that the individuals rarely seen in Berkshire to the south of Greylock during the last week of May (*e. g.* Lanesboro, May 27, 1899) are birds bred to the north of Massachusetts rather than members of the Greylock colony.

44. Geothlypis agilis (*Wils.*).

CONNECTICUT WARBLER.

Very rare transient in the autumn. Lanesboro, September 21, 24; Sheffield, September 26; North Adams, September 28.

45. Icteria virens (*Linn.*).

YELLOW-BREASTED CHAT.

A not rare summer resident in the Housatonic valley at Sheffield. We have found it also in a few localities in Stockbridge and Lenox. To the north of this we have not met with it until North Adams is reached, at the northern end of the county. Here, on the verge of the Hoosac valley, on the lower slopes of the Greylock mountain range, there is established a little colony of Chats, about four pairs breeding within an area two miles square. On the 16th of June, 1896, we discovered a pair settled in Pownal, a southern border town of Vermont. These were probably an overflow from the Greylock colony.

46. Setophaga ruticilla (*Linn.*).

AMERICAN REDSTART.

Common summer resident, but not so abundant as in the eastern counties of Massachusetts. Rarer at high levels than in the low country. Arrives from the south May 3 (1899, Lanesboro). Seen as late as September 25.

47. Wilsonia canadensis (*Linn.*).

CANADIAN WARBLER.

Common summer resident of the higher parts of the county, and also found in shady swamps in the valley regions. May 11–September 26.

48. Wilsonia pusilla (*Wils.*).

WILSON'S WARBLER.

Fairly common transient visitant in the well watered valley country, May 6–28, September 8–27 (Lanesboro). Fond of willows along the borders of ponds and rivers.

The Hooded Warbler, *Wilsonia mitrata* (Gmel.), should be looked for, especially in the southern part of the county, in the mountain laurel tracts.

Mr. J. B. Grimes, a trustworthy observer, in our estimation, assures us that he used to find this bird in the breeding-season in a certain place near Pittsfield, a good many years ago. The locality is now built up.

49. Vireo noveboracensis (*Gmel.*).

WHITE-EYED VIREO.

Very rare summer resident. Sheffield, June, 1888, and June 10, 1896. One pair on each occasion.

It is included in Chadbourne's Williamstown list published in 1858.

50. Vireo solitarius (*Wils.*).

SOLITARY VIREO.

Not uncommon summer resident. Much reduced in numbers since the winter of 1894–95, when myriads must have perished in the south.

51. Vireo flavifrons *Vieill.*

YELLOW-THROATED VIREO.

Summer resident, not common, but widely dispersed through the valley towns. Generally met with in the shade-trees along village streets. We have found a few in such situations in the following towns: Sheffield, Stockbridge, Lenox, Pittsfield, Lanesboro, North Adams, and Williamstown.

52. Vireo gilvus (*Vieill.*).

WARBLING VIREO.

Locally common summer resident. Almost exclusively found in the shade-trees by the roadsides, especially in the villages. Arrives May 2, departs September 18 (Lanesboro).

53. Vireo olivaceus (*Linn.*).

RED-EYED VIREO.

Abundant summer resident. Arrives May 10. Seen as late as October 1.

54. Lanius ludovicianus migrans *Palmer.*

MIGRANT SHRIKE.

The only records for this bird are the following by S. G. Tenney, in Amer. Nat., XXI. 1887, 90: Nest found in Williamstown, May 10, 1883, with six eggs; another a few days later, one-quarter of a mile distant from the first one, with two eggs (apparently deserted); third nest found in the spring of 1886, within 150 feet of the first nest. [Auk, VI. 1889, 180; Brewster's ed. Minot's Land-Birds and Game-Birds of N. E., 1875, p. 470; Palmer, Auk, XV. 1898, 249.]

Mr. Tenney writes us that these nests were built at a height of six to eight feet above the ground, two of them in thorn-apple trees (*Crataegus*), one in an elm. They were lined with sheep's wool.

55. Lanius borealis *Vieill.*

NORTHERN SHRIKE.

Winter visitant, not common. Have seen it at North Adams as early as October 17.

56. Ampelis cedrorum (*Vieill.*).

CEDAR WAXWING.

Abundant summer resident. Arrives May 22 (1889, North Adams), May 24 (1899, Lanesboro). Roving flocks are sometimes met with in late winter or early spring, but these birds do not remain through to the breeding season (Emmons, Amer. Journal Sci., XXVI. 1834, 208.

57. Ampelis garrulus *Linn.*

BOHEMIAN WAXWING.

One specimen, a male, shot in Williamstown village, is now in the Williams College museum (No. 103) in Jackson Hall. (Chadbourne, Williams Quarterly, V. 1858, 345; Brewster, Auk, I. 1884, 10.)

58. Progne subis (*Linn.*).

PURPLE MARTIN.

Not common summer resident, breeding in small numbers in the northern part of the county, at North Adams, etc.

59. Hirundo erythrogastra *Bodd.*

BARN SWALLOW.

Abundant summer resident. Most numerous of the Hirundinidæ. Arrives about April 19 (Williamstown, Emmons). By September 7 they are gone.

60. Tachycineta bicolor (*Vieill.*).

WHITE-BELLIED SWALLOW.

Abundant transient visitant; not very common summer resident, breeding in North Adams, Cheshire, Lanesboro, Pittsfield, Becket, Sheffield. Vast numbers collect at the head of Pontoosuc Lake during the vernal migration, where we have seen them take their departure for the north as late as the 22d of May. After sitting toward the close of day upon the low bushes that protrude above the surface of the lake, at half past seven o'clock, myriads at once soared into the air, parting to form two flocks, one of which took a course due north, while the second struck off to the W. N. W.

61. Petrochelidon lunifrons (*Say*).

EAVE SWALLOW.

Abundant summer resident. Next to the Barn Swallow the most numerous of the family. According to Professor Emmons this bird first appeared in Williamstown in the year 1825. Arrives about April 29 (Williamstown, Emmons), departs at the end of August.

62. Clivicola riparia (*Linn.*).

SAND SWALLOW.

Fairly common summer resident, though of necessity more or less local in its distribution.

63. Stelgidopteryx serripennis (*Aud.*).

ROUGH-WINGED SWALLOW.

Very rare summer resident. We know of but two pairs, breeding in two limestone cliffs in North Adams (Faxon, 'Auk,' XII. 1895, 392). This is the only place in the state where this swallow is known to breed. It is somewhat strange that the nearest known breeding station to the southward is the extreme south-western corner of Connecticut. The young quit the nest during the first week in July.

64. Piranga erythromelas *Vieill.*

SCARLET TANAGER.

Common summer resident, May 10–September 23. Very common in the region about Greylock Mountain.

65. Coccothraustes vespertinus (*Coop.*).

EVENING GROSBEAK.

This western bird appeared in Berkshire County in considerable numbers in the winter of 1889–90, during that wonderful eastward migration which reached even the Atlantic coast.* We were not so fortunate as to be in Berkshire County during the incursion, but we received trustworthy reports of its presence in Williamstown, Adams, Lanesboro, Lenox, and Sheffield. Mr. W. A. Jeffries of Boston has a specimen killed in Lenox, March 25, 1890. Mr. Roland F. Smith of Sheffield has one that he secured out of a flock in Sheffield during the same winter.

66. Pinicola enucleator canadensis (*Cab.*).

CANADIAN PINE GROSBEAK.

Irregular winter visitant.

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*See A. W. Butler, 'Auk,' IX. 1892, 238–247, X. 1892, 155–157, and William Brewster, in Minot's 'Land-Birds and Game-Birds of New England,' 2d Ed., 1895, pp. 470, 471.

67. Carpodacus purpureus (*Gmel.*).

PURPLE FINCH.

Common summer resident; rare in winter (*teste* Mr. R. T. Fisher).

68. Passer domesticus (*Linn.*).

HOUSE SPARROW.

Permanent resident, abundant in the larger cities and towns, not uncommon in farming country of the lowlands, but not encroaching upon the higher regions of the county. Even at North Adams, where a populous city abuts abruptly upon the slope of Greylock, the House Sparrows do not ascend above a a level of 1080 feet, the city lying at a level of 680 feet. They appear not yet to have invaded the Hoosac Plateau. The House Sparrow is as yet the only foreign bird that has taken an assured place in the fauna of the county.

69. Loxia leucoptera (*Gmel.*).

WHITE-WINGED CROSSBILL.

Irregular winter visitant. Greylock Mountain, December 15, 17, 1889; October 22, 25, 1891. Abundant in Northern Berkshire during the winter of 1899–1900.

70. Loxia curvirostra minor (*Brehm*).

AMERICAN CROSSBILL.

Found at all seasons, but very irregular in its occurrence, especially in summer. In the year 1895 the Crossbills were abundant throughout the summer in the region about Greylock Mountain.

71. Acanthis linaria (*Linn.*).

REDPOLL.

Irregular winter visitant.

72. Astragalinus tristis (*Linn.*).

AMERICAN GOLDFINCH.

Abundant summer resident. Rare in winter.

73. Spinus pinus (*Wils.*).

PINE SISKIN.

Irregular winter visitant; arrives September 24. On Greylock Mountain it is frequently seen in the summer. Probably breeds among the higher mountains.

74. Plectrophenax nivalis (*Linn.*).

SNOW BUNTING.

Irregular winter visitant, not abundant. November–March. Have taken it on the summit of Greylock, November 1, and on the mud-flats of Pontoosuc Lake, Lanesboro.

75. Pocecetes gramineus (*Gmel.*).

BAY-WINGED SPARROW.

Common summer resident. Arrives April 8 (Stockbridge), seen up to October 23 (North Adams). The Bay-wings were quite scarce in Berkshire in the summer of 1899. They must have perished in great numbers during the preceding winter.

76. Passerculus sandwichensis savanna (*Wils.*).

SAVANNAH SPARROW.

Common summer resident usually, though scarce in the summer of 1899, like the preceding species.

77. Ammodramus savannarum passerinus (*Wils.*).

GRASSHOPPER SPARROW.

Summer resident, of local distribution. We have found a good many in Sheffield, and scattered colonies in Great Barrington, Stockbridge, Lenox, Pittsfield, and North Adams.

78. Ammodramus henslowii (*Aud.*).

HENSLOW'S SPARROW.

Summer resident, locally distributed through the county. We have observed it in considerable numbers in the towns of Sheffield, Tyringham, Otis, Stockbridge, and Lanesboro, and Mr. William Brewster has recorded it from Adams ('Auk,' I. 1884, 7). It arrived at Lanesboro in 1899 on the 13th day of May.

79. Zonotrichia leucophrys (*Forst.*).

WHITE-CROWNED SPARROW.

Common transient visitant in the valley country, May 8–25, September 23–October —. Found mostly along road-sides and bushy fence-lines, whence its dreamy song often greets the passer-by during the May migration.

80. Zonotrichia albicollis (*Gmel.*).

WHITE-THROATED SPARROW.

The White-throated Sparrow breeds in considerable numbers on the Greylock Mountain range and on the Hoosac Plateau from Becket northward. In the low, valley country of Berkshire it is rare in summer (Stockbridge, Lanesboro) but abundant in the spring and fall, during the seasons of migration.

81. Spizella monticola (*Gmel.*).

TREE SPARROW.

Common migrant in the spring and autumn. Not common in winter. Arrives from the north October 23 (North Adams).

82. Spizella pusilla (*Wils.*).

FIELD SPARROW.

Common summer resident.

83. Spizella socialis (*Wils.*).

CHIPPING SPARROW.

Abundant summer resident.

84. Junco hiemalis (*Linn.*).

SNOWBIRD.

Abundant transient in the spring and autumn, and a fairly common summer resident in the mountainous parts of the county, breeding on the mountains even to the southern border (Mount Everett). According to Mr. R. T. Fisher it is sometimes found in winter.

85. Melospiza georgiana (*Lath.*).

SWAMP SPARROW.

Rather common summer resident, found both in the high and low country, but locally distributed on account of its love for marshy districts.

86. Melospiza lincolnii (*Aud.*).

LINCOLN'S SPARROW.

Transient visitant in the spring and autumn, more numerous in the autumn, when it is a fairly common bird in the Housatonic Valley (Lanesboro, Pittsfield, Sheffield). We have seen as many as ten in a single day (October 1, 1898, Lanesboro). It is seen in May (14th–17th) and in the autumn from September 19 through early October. Found oftenest, though by no means exclusively, near swampy or marshy land.

Near Boston, where observations cover a long series of years, spring dates for Lincoln's Sparrow cover the interval from May 7 to June 1, autumn records extending from September 12 to October 10; once we saw a single individual in Belmont on the first day of November.

87. Melospiza melodia (*Wils.*).

SONG SPARROW.

Abundant summer resident. Mr. R. T. Fisher informs us that a few Song Sparrows may be found in winter at the Cheshire Reservoir. A record for spring arrival at North Adams, viz. March 10, 1878, is given in 'Forest and Stream,' X. 1878, 297.

88. Passerella iliaca (*Merr.*).

FOX-COLORED SPARROW.

Common transient visitant, March–April, October–November. Arrives from the north in autumn, October 21 (North Adams).

89. Pipilo erythrophthalmus (*Linn.*).

TOWHEE.

Summer resident, not rare, though not nearly so common as in the eastern counties of Massachusetts, and more local in its distribution. We have found it lingering on Mount Greylock in the autumn as late as October 22.

The Cardinal Grosbeak, *Cardinalis cardinalis* (Linn.), is entered with a query in the Catalogue of the Birds of Williamstown (Williams Quarterly, 1858, p. 358). We know of no positive record for the county. For Hampden and Hampshire County records, see Allen, Amer. Nat., III. 1870, 635.

90. Zamelodia ludoviciana (*Linn.*).

ROSE-BREASTED GROSBEAK.

Fairly common summer resident. Arrives about the 10th of May. We have seen it in the autumn up to October 2, though most of them leave early in September.

91. Passerina cyanea (*Linn.*).

INDIGO BIRD.

Abundant summer resident. Arrives May 10–14. Departs early in October.

92. Spiza americana (*Gmel.*).

BLACK-THROATED BUNTING.

Found breeding in Williamstown some time prior to 1858, by Mr. Archibald Hopkins, who sent the eggs to Dr. T. M. Brewer (Williams Quarterly, 1858, p. 357; Baird, Brewer and Ridgway, Hist. N. A. Birds, Land Birds, II. 1874, 67; Stearns and Coues, New England Bird-Life, Part I. 1881, p. 280). We have no reason to think that the Black-throated Bunting

now exists in Berkshire county. As is well known, this bird long ago abandoned its former breeding-grounds in the eastern states.

93. Dolichonyx oryzivorus (*Linn.*).

BOBOLINK.

Very common summer resident. Arrives May 1 (1899, Lanesboro)—May 12 (1889, North Adams). Ceases from song about July 10. Last seen September 12.

94. Molothrus ater (*Bodd.*).

COWBIRD.

Fairly common summer resident, but not so common as in the eastern part of the state.

95. Agelæus phœniceus (*Linn.*).

RED-WINGED BLACKBIRD.

Common summer resident. Arrived in Williamstown March 23, 1831, March 21, 1832, March 20, 1833. Appeared in February, 1830.—Emmons. We have seen transient flocks at Pontoosuc Lake as late as Nov. 11, but the native birds abandon their breeding-grounds as early as August.

96. Sturnella magna (*Linn.*).

MEADOW-LARK.

Common summer resident of the low country. Arrived at Williamstown March 13, 1831, March 12, 1832, March 13, 1833.—Emmons. Observed at North Adams as late as October 23.

97. Icterus spurius (*Linn.*).

ORCHARD ORIOLE.

Not uncommon summer resident in the southern part of the Housatonic Valley at Sheffield, and breeding northward in small numbers as far as the upper end of Pontoosuc Lake, in Lanesboro. Arrives May 12 (1899, Lanesboro.)

98. Icterus galbula (*Linn.*).

BALTIMORE ORIOLE.

Common summer resident in the low country. Arrives May 7 (1899, Lanesboro) to May 12 (1831, Williamstown, Emmons). Departs about the last of August.

99. Scolecophagus carolinus (*Müll.*).

RUSTY GRACKLE.

Transient visitant in the spring and autumn,—abundant in the autumn.

100. Quiscalus quiscula æneus (*Ridgw.*).

BRONZED GRACKLE.

Common summer resident.

101. Corvus americanus *Aud.*

AMERICAN CROW.

Common permanent resident, but not so abundant in winter as in summer.

102. Corvus corax (*Linn.*).

RAVEN.

There are two Ravens, killed in Williamstown, in the museum of Williams College. One of these is No. 358, "Williamstown, Don. F. B. Cole, 1877." The other is merely labelled "Williamstown, Mass.", without catalogue number. It is the first of these, probably, that was recorded by Tenney in the American Naturalist, Vol. XI. April, 1877, p. 243 [Allen, Bull. N. O. C., II. 1877, 74, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., I. 1886, 249; Stearns and Coues, N. E. Bird-Life, Part I. 1881, p. 313; Faxon, Auk. VI. 1889, 100] as obtained in Williamstown "some time since." Both specimens were noticed by Mr. William Brewster in the 'Auk,' Vol. I. 1884, p. 10, where 1877 is inadvertently given as the date of *capture* of one of them, instead of the date of *donation to the museum*. Certain local names that still survive would seem to show that the Raven used to breed in Berkshire. An inaccessible cliff on the eastern side

of Ragged Mountain, a spur of Greylock, in Adams, has been pointed out as a former breeding-place of the Raven, and it is still called by many of the farmers in the neighborhood the "Raven Rocks." The Ravens, however, were probably exterminated from this region long ago. They do not appear in Chadbourne's list of Williamstown birds which was published in 1858; nor in the catalogue of birds published in 1833 by Dr. Emmons, a resident of Williamstown, does the Raven figure, save dubiously, as a bird of Massachusetts.

Allen (Bull. Essex Inst., x. 1878, 33, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., i. 1886, 266) says that the Canada Jay, *Perisoreus canadensis* (Linn.), doubtless occurs as an occasional winter visitor in Berkshire County—an *a priori* assertion backed by no definite record. In a note printed in the Auk, Vol. IX. 1892, p. 395, R. O. Morris and W. W. Colburn aver that a Canada Jay was "observed" by them on Greylock Mountain, June 18, 1892. We have learned from Mr. Morris (*per litt.*) that this bird was identified by ear alone, an identification hardly entitled to credit.

103. Cyanocitta cristata (*Linn.*).

BLUE JAY.

Common permanent resident.

104. Otocorys alpestris (*Linn.*).

HORNED LARK.

Rare [spring and ?] autumn transient visitant. Pontoosuc Lake, Lanesboro, Nov. 13, 1899. We have seen a female that was killed in Dalton (no date).

104*a*. Otocorys alpestris praticola *Hensh.*.

PRAIRIE HORNED LARK.

Rare summer resident, Williamstown, North Adams, Lanesboro, Pittsfield. There are reasons for believing that the Prairie Horned Lark has extended its breeding range eastward in recent years. Our earliest knowledge of its breeding in Massachusetts dates back only to 1890, in which year specimens were secured in the breeding-season in Williamstown and North Adams (Faxon, Auk, IX. 1892, 202). A nest and eggs were found near Pittsfield by Mr. C. H. Buckingham, July 10, 1892 (Brewster, Auk, XI. 1894, 326). The first account of its

breeding in New England was published in the Ornithologist and Oölogist, Vol. XIV., p. 87, June, 1889, where Mr. C. H. Parkhill records it as nesting in Cornwall, Vt. In 1891 it was observed in June and July at Franconia, N. H. (Faxon, Auk, IX, 1892, 202). Within twenty-five miles of the Berkshire boundary, near Troy, N. Y., the Prairie Horned Lark was recorded as breeding as long ago as 1881 (Park, Bull. Nuttall Orn. Club, VI. 1881, 177; Auk, V. 1888, 111).

In its song-*flight* this little lark emulates the renowned Sky Lark of Europe. We have seen it soaring up until it became a mere speck to the eye; but its flight-*song* is wretched failure, consisting of a series of formless splutterings and chipperings, of little if any musical value.

After a dry summer, like that of 1899, the receding waters of Pontoosuc Lake leave at its upper end extensive mud-flats exposed to the sun and air. Here, drawn by an abundance of food, the larks assemble in flocks during the autumn. On several occasions in early November, we have estimated the number thus congregated to be as great as seventy. The flocks are made up almost wholly of the Prairie Larks (*O. a. praticola*), though now and then one discerns a few of their yellow-browed relatives, *O. alpestris*, accompanied by Snow Buntings, that have come down from the north to take potluck with their southern cousins on the Pontoosuc flats.

Possibly a few Prairie Horned Larks may pass the winter in Berkshire, if the season be mild and open. We have found a family of five feeding in upland fields on the second of December.

105. Empidonax traillii alnorum *Brewst.*

ALDER FLYCATCHER.

Common summer resident, found in wet ground, among growth of alder and willow, throughout the whole length of the county. Song, *que-quée*, uttered in quick, irritable tones—sometimes a more drawled-out *quéah*. Call-note, a loud *pip*. Arrives May 16, (1889, North Adams), May 22, (1899, Lanesboro); very abundant about May 28, when the number of natives is augmented by many transients on their way north.

106. Empidonax minimus *Baird.*

LEAST FLYCATCHER.

Common summer resident, found in orchards and groves, seldom in the wet swamp land frequented by the Alder Flycatcher. Song, a quickly uttered *che-bec'*; call-note, a sharp *whit.*

107. Empidonax flaviventris *Baird.*

YELLOW-BELLIED FLYCATCHER.

Rare spring (and presumably autumn) transient visitant. May 25–June 1 (Lanesboro). We have no autumn records. There is no reason to suppose that the Yellow-bellied Flycatcher breeds in Berkshire County, although it is said to do so in Mr. Allen's Revised List of the Birds of Massachusetts (Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., I. 1886, 248). This assertion rests on Mr. Brewster's identification of a pair found on Greylock, June 28, 1883 (Auk, I. 1884, 12, 15). Mr. Brewster tells us that the birds were identified on that occasion not by sight but by the call-note, which resembles that of the Wood Pewee so closely that the two might easily be confounded.

108. Horizopus virens (*Linn.*).

WOOD PEWEE.

Common summer resident, arrives May 14–23 (Lanesboro). Observed up to September 26.

109. Nuttallornis borealis (*Swains.*).

OLIVE-SIDED FLYCATCHER.

Summer resident, of restricted range in Berkshire County, the only place where we have found it in any numbers being Greylock mountain and its spurs. Have detected a few in other places in the northern half of the county, as, Lanesboro, Savoy, and Hinsdale. Arrives on Mt. Greylock May 13.

110. Sayornis phœbe (*Lath.*).

PHŒBE.

Common summer resident. Arrived at Williamstown March

23, 1831, March 20, 1832, March 20, 1833 (Emmons). We have seen it at North Adams as late as October 26.

111. Myiarchus crinitus (*Linn.*).

CRESTED FLYCATCHER.

Summer resident, not generally common, although distributed through the whole length of the county. May 11–September 12.

112. Tyrannus tyrannus (*Linn.*).

KINGBIRD.

Common summer resident. Arrives during the first week in May (1st to 4th, Williamstown, Emmons; 1st, 1899, Lanesboro). Departs during the first week of September.

113. Trochilus colubris (*Linn.*).

RUBY-THROATED HUMMING-BIRD.

Fairly common summer resident. Arrives early in May (May 3, 1899, Lanesboro). Seen up to September 20.

114. Chætura pelagica (*Linn.*).

CHIMNEY SWIFT.

Abundant summer. Resident arrives during the latter half of April. The native birds mostly leave by the first of September, but small flights, presumably from regions further north, are often seen throughout the month of September.

115. Chordeiles virginianus (*Gmel.*).

NIGHTHAWK.

Not common summer resident. Sometimes abundant as a bird of passage at the end of May, and in September. Arrives May 12–24.

116. Antrostomus vociferus (*Wils.*).

WHIP-POOR-WILL.

Summer resident. Not rare in some parts of the county. We have heard it singing even in the autumn, September 8 and September 9.

117. Colaptes auratus luteus *Bangs.*

NORTHERN FLICKER.

Common summer resident. Arrives April 10–12 (Williamstown, Emmons), departs in October (October 24, 1891, North Adams).

118. Melanerpes erythrocephalus (*Linn.*).

RED-HEADED WOODPECKER.

Very rare summer resident. Williamstown (Chadbourne), Lanesboro, Lenox, Stockbridge.

There is no definite record of the presence of the Red-bellied Woodpecker, *Melanerpes carolinus* (Linn.), in Berkshire County. In his Report on the Ornithology of Massachusetts, 1839, p. 336, W. B. O. Peabody says: "Professor Emmons tells me that he has shot the bird in the season of incubation." Turning to Emmons's Catalogue of the Birds of Massachusetts, 1833, p. 546, we find this species listed as an occasional visitant to Massachusetts, with the remark that it is common near Rochester, N. Y., and takes the place of the Flicker in the western part of New York state. On this insufficient evidence, this bird figures in subsequent works as *breeding in western Massachusetts according to Dr. Emmons* (Allen, Proc. Essex Inst., IV. 1864, 53; Coues, Proc. Essex Inst., V. 1868, 262; Stearns and Coues, New England Bird Life, Part II., 1883, p. 79).

119. Ceophlœus pileatus abieticola *Bangs.*

NORTHERN PILEATED WOODPECKER.

Very rare permanent resident. Williamstown (J. Darby, Chadbourne's List, 1858; June, 1883, Brewster, Auk, I. 1884, 9), North Adams (May, 1889), Lanesboro (July, 1890, R. T. Fisher), Pittsfield (November, 1899). Old peck-holes, the work of Pileated Woodpeckers, are often met with in the heavily forested spruce districts. Doubtless this bird was once commoner here than it is now.

120. Sphyrapicus varius (*Linn.*).

YELLOW-BELLIED WOODPECKER.

Very rare summer resident, common during the migration-time. Breeds in small numbers on Greylock; we have also seen one in Peru, on the Hoosac Plateau, June 25–29.

There is no valid record, so far as we are aware, for either of the three-toed Woodpeckers, *Picoïdes arcticus* (Swains.) and *P. americanus* Brehm, in

Berkshire County, Mr. Brewster not insisting on the value of the evidence adduced in the Auk, Vol. I. 1884, p. 12 (foot-note).

121. Dryobates pubescens medianus (*Swains.*).

DOWNY WOODPECKER.

Common permanent resident.

122. Dryobates villosus (*Linn.*).

HAIRY WOODPECKER.

Not uncommon permanent resident.

123. Ceryle alcyon (*Linn.*).

BELTED KINGFISHER.

Rather common summer resident.

124. Coccyzus americanus (*Linn.*).

YELLOW-BILLED CUCKOO.

Rather rare summer resident, but distributed throughout the county; more frequently met in the low than in the high country. Seen as early as May 14, and as late as Sept. 26.

125. Coccyzus erythrophthalmus (*Wils.*).

BLACK-BILLED CUCKOO.

Rather common summer resident. Arrives May 15 (1889, North Adams; 1899, Lanesboro). Last seen September 14.

126. Megascops asio (*Linn.*).

SCREECH OWL.

Not rare permanent resident.

127. Bubo virginianus (*Gmel.*).

GREAT HORNED OWL.

Rare permanent resident. Nest with young found in Stockbridge, April 8, 1893 (Hoffmann, Auk, XII. 1895, 88).

128. Nyctea nyctea (*Linn.*).

SNOWY OWL.

Rare and irregular winter visitant.

129. Surnia ulula caparoch (*Müll.*).

AMERICAN HAWK-OWL.

Rare, irregular winter visitant. Williamstown (Chadbourne's list, 1858). "Several taken in Westfield and also in Berkshire County, among the Green Mountains."—Brewer in Baird, Brewer and Ridgway's Hist. N. A. Birds, Land Birds, III. 1874, 77.

130. Asio wilsonianus (*Less.*).

AMERICAN LONG-EARED OWL.

Permanent resident. There is a specimen in the collection of the Berkshire Athenæum, Pittsfield, taken in Hulbert's Swamp, Lanesboro, April 17, 1879. One in the collection of P. H. Miller of Hinsdale was killed in Hinsdale, October 23, 1899. According to H. H. Rudge of Great Barrington and R. F. Smith of Sheffield, this owl is not very rare in southern Berkshire.

131. Asio accipitrinus (*Pall.*).

SHORT-EARED OWL.

A specimen preserved in the collection of the Berkshire Athenæum, was killed near Pontoosuc Lake, April 30, 1879; another in the collection of P. H. Miller of Hinsdale, was taken in Hinsdale October 28, 1898.

132. Syrnium nebulosum (*Forst.*).

BARRED OWL.

Not uncommon, permanent resident in the timbered districts.

133. Nyctala acadica (*Gmel.*).

SAW-WHET OWL.

Rare, chiefly as a winter visitant. A few without doubt breed in Berkshire as we once found three together in Stockbridge on the 4th of July, 1897.

134. Cathartes aura (*Linn.*).

TURKEY VULTURE.

Accidental visitant. One was shot in Williamstown by Alfred J. Rowell, January 9, 1891. Mr. Rowell told us that

the bird was first seen about the place the day before he shot it. This specimen is now in Mr. William Brewster's collection.

135. Circus hudsonius (*Linn.*).

MARSH HAWK.

Not rare summer resident in the low country.

136. Accipiter velox (*Wils.*).

SHARP-SHINNED HAWK.

Not common summer resident. Like most of the hawks, more abundant during the spring and fall migrations. Arrives at Williamstown March 20–23, according to Emmons. Seen once by us as late as December 1, on Greylock mountain.

137. Accipiter cooperii (*Bonap.*).

COOPER'S HAWK.

Rare summer resident.

138. Accipiter atricapillus (*Wils.*).

AMERICAN GOSHAWK.

Rare, irregular winter visitant. We have seen two specimens taken during the autumn of 1897, one in New Lenox, one in Richmond. Mr. R. T. Fisher of Lanesboro informs us that he has twice met with this species in winter.

139. Buteo borealis (*Gmel.*).

RED-TAILED HAWK.

Not rare permanent resident. Affects the wilder parts of the county.

140. Buteo lineatus. (*Gmel.*).

RED-SHOULDERED HAWK.

Not uncommon permanent resident. The commonest Buteo in the cultivated districts.

141. Buteo latissimus (*Wils.*).

BROAD-WINGED HAWK.

Rare summer resident. Eggs secured by Mr. Archibald Hopkins near Williamstown were identified by Dr. T. M. Brewer as belonging to this species (N. A. Oölogy, Part I., 1857, p. 31; cf. Baird, Brewer and Ridgway, Hist. N. A. Birds, Land Birds, III. 1874, p. 261). Mr. R. T. Fisher informs us that a pair of Broad-winged Hawks has twice nested near the Cheshire Reservoir. We have seen a specimen killed in Dalton, April 21, 1898, but have met with it alive in Berkshire only in September. From advices received, we believe that this hawk is a tolerably common summer resident on the eastern slope of the Green Mountains, in the adjoining counties of Hampshire and Hampden.

142. Archibuteo lagopus sancti-johannis (*Gmel.*).

AMERICAN ROUGH-LEGGED HAWK.

Rare spring and autumn migrant, and probably winter resident. Mr. J. M. Stevenson of Pittsfield has a specimen (in the light phase) killed in Great Barrington, in 1887, by Mr. T. A. Schurr,—in the month of May, if the label is trustworthy.

143. Aquila chrysaëtos (*Linn.*).

GOLDEN EAGLE.

Very rare permanent resident. It is included in Chadbourne's list of Williamstown birds, published in 1858, and there is a pair killed in Williamstown—the male in November, 1870—in the museum of Williams College. Mr. William Brewster reports seeing one circling over Mt. Greylock in June, 1883 (Auk, I. 1884, 10). Mr. R. T. Fisher tells us of one that was trapped on Potter Mountain, Lanesboro.

144. Haliæetus leucocephalus (*Linn.*).

WHITE-HEADED EAGLE.

Rare summer resident. Mr. R. T. Fisher once found a nest of this eagle near the Cheshire Reservoir. More common in the spring.

145 Falco peregrinus anatum (*Bonap.*).

AMERICAN PEREGRINE FALCON.

Very rare summer resident. We have discovered two eyries of this falcon in Berkshire, one in Sheffield (Faxon, Auk, VI. 1889, 44), one in Great Barrington—both among cliffs of the Taconic mountain-range.

146. Falco columbarius (*Linn.*).

PIGEON HAWK.

Transient visitant (Emmons, Chadbourne).

147. Falco sparverius *Linn.*

AMERICAN SPARROW-HAWK.

Not very rare summer resident.

148. Pandion haliaëtus carolinensis (*Gmel.*).

AMERICAN OSPREY.

Rather common transient visitant in the spring and autumn. Perhaps some stay through the summer; we have seen it in Sheffield as late as June 11.

149. Ectopistes migratorius (*Linn.*).

PASSENGER PIGEON.

The Passenger Pigeon is now practically exterminated from Berkshire County. Its former abundance may be surmised from the following extract from the journal of Richard Hazen, as quoted in Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Vol. III. 1792, p. 171. Hazen surveyed the state line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in 1741, and the region of which he speaks is, according to Belknap, west of the Connecticut and east of the Deerfield River, in the adjoining county of Franklin.

"For three miles together, the pigeons' nests were so thick that five hundred might have been told on the beech trees at one time; and could they have been counted on the hemlocks as well, I doubt not but five thousand at one turn round."

According to Dewey they came annually in large flocks from the south-west to rear their young, as late as 1829 (History of Berkshire, p. 37). The time of their arrival in spring is said by this writer to have been between March 10 and April 5, commonly about April 1. In 1834, Dr. Emmons speaks of them as irregular both in the time of their appearance and the length of their stay in Berkshire County, giving March 24 as the date of their arrival at Williamstown in 1831, March 22, in 1833 (Amer. Journ. Sci., XXVI. 1834, 208).

150. Zenaidura macrura (*Linn.*).

MOURNING DOVE.

Summer resident, not uncommon in the southern part of the county, in Sheffield. We have also found it in New Lenox and it figures in the Williams College list of the birds of Williamstown, (1858).

The Wild Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo* Linn.) was long ago exterminated from Berkshire County. Chester Dewey spoke of it as extinct as long ago as 1829 (History of the County of Berkshire, p. 37). As is well known, a few survived on Mt. Holyoke and Mt. Tom, near the Connecticut River, until within the forties.

151. Bonasa umbellus (*Linn.*).

RUFFED GROUSE.

Common permanent resident.

151*a*. Bonasa umbellus togata (*Linn.*).

CANADIAN RUFFED GROUSE.

Three Ruffed Grouse killed in North Adams (one on Greylock Mountain, two near the village of Blackinton) are nearly typical examples of the Canadian race. Mr. Hoffmann's record in the Auk, XII. Jan. 1895, 88, and Mr. Brewster's in the second edition of Minot's Land-Birds and Game-Birds of New England, 1895, p. 406, rest solely upon these three specimens. Whether this is the only form found in Northern Berkshire we do not know, nor do we have any means of knowing how far southward the Canadian Ruffed Grouse may extend on the higher mountain ranges of the county. In the specimens ex-

amined which were killed in the southern part of the county,—in Lee, Great Barrington, and Sheffield,—the characters of the true *umbellus* preponderate, as in specimens from Eastern Massachusetts. The proportion of gray-tailed birds, however, seems to be greater than among eastern examples.

152. Colinus virginianus (*Linn.*).

QUAIL.

Permanent resident. The Quail is not a common bird in any part of Berkshire County. We have found a few in Sheffield, Pittsfield, and Williamstown. Quite a number were noted in Stockbridge in 1892, though none were observed there the following summer (Hoffmann, Auk, XII. 1895, 88). In Minot's Land-Birds and Game-Birds of New England, 1877, p. 396, the presence of a covey of Quail in the Berkshire Hills is noted as accidental (cf. Brewster, Auk, I. 1884, 6; Faxon, Auk, VI. 1889, 99). The gunners' practice of introducing this bird by artificial methods makes it impossible to determine its natural distribution in the county. It is included in the Williams College list of Williamstown birds, published back in 1858.

153. Ægialitis vocifera (*Linn.*).

KILDEER PLOVER.

The Kildeer was formerly common in Berkshire County, according to Professor Dewey (Hist. Berkshire, 1829, p. 37). It is now very rare. We observed one in Stockbridge, August 17 and 25, 1893, another in Lanesboro, September 25, 1899, but have not found it here during the breeding season. Its time of arrival at Williamstown in the early thirties is given by Dr. Emmons as April 13–14.

154. Ægialitis semipalmata *Bonap.*

SEMIPALMATED PLOVER.

Rare transient visitant. One seen at the Clarksburg Reservoir, July 20, 1895. Two at Cheshire Reservoir late in August (R. T. Fisher). One on the banks of the Hoosac River (Emmons).

Mr. J. H. Wood of Pittsfield tells us that he has seen the American Golden Plover, *Charadrius dominicus* Müll., at Onota Lake.

155. Numenius longirostris (*Wils.*).

LONG-BILLED CURLEW.

Accidental visitant. Included here on the testimony of Dr. Emmons (Catalogue, 1833, p. 550), who says that this bird has been found "rarely, on the Hoosic."

156. Symphemia semipalmata (*Gmel.*).

WILLET.

Accidental visitant. Sole record, Williamstown, A. Hopkins (Williams Coll. List, 1858).

157. Totanus melanoleucus (*Gmel.*).

GREATER YELLOW-LEGS.

Not rare transient visitant in the spring and autumn.

158. Totanus flavipes (*Gmel.*).

LESSER YELLOW-LEGS.

Transient visitant. Clarksburg Reservoir, July 20, 1895; Pontoosuc Lake, September 26, 1899.

159. Helodromas solitarius (*Wils.*).

SOLITARY SANDPIPER.

Common transient visitant, May 4–23, July 20—. We have two summer records earlier than July 20, viz: Stockbridge, July 14, 1898, and Becket, July 8, 1893 (Hoffmann, Auk, XII. 1895, 88). According to Mr. R. T. Fisher, the Solitary Sandpiper breeds in Berkshire County, as he has found it with young still in the down, near the boundary of North Adams and Williamstown.

160. Actitis macularia (*Linn.*).

SPOTTED SANDPIPER.

Common summer resident.

161. Bartramia longicauda (*Bechst.*).

BARTRAMIAN SANDPIPER.

Transient visitant in the spring and autumn. According to the testimony of local sportsmen, a few remain through the summer to breed in the uplands of the northern towns of the county.

162. Ereunetes pusillus (*Linn.*).

SEMIPALMATED SANDPIPER.

Transient visitant, July, August. "Not uncommon" (R. T. Fisher).

163. Tringa minutilla *Vieill.*

LEAST SANDPIPER.

Transient visitant, May (13, Lanesboro), July, August.

164. Tringa maculata *Vieill.*

PECTORAL SANDPIPER.

Transient visitant. One at the Clarksburg Reservoir, July 20, 1895. According to Mr. R. T. Fisher it is sometimes common in the autumn.

165. Gallinago delicata (*Ord*).

WILSON'S SNIPE.

Rare transient spring and autumn visitant. There is one record of the Wilson's Snipe wintering in Berkshire, a specimen having been shot in Hancock, February 2, 1897 (Hoag, 'Osprey,' Vol. I. 1897, p. 122).

166. Philohela minor (*Gmel.*).

AMERICAN WOODCOCK.

Not rare summer resident; common in migration. Apparently decreasing in numbers. Arrives at Williamstown April 1–4, according to Emmons. We have found it in summer at as great an altitude as 1800 feet (Savoy Hollow, July 3). The contents of a gunner's bag, as revealed in the columns of 'Forest and Stream,' will give the best conception of the status

of the Woodcock as a summer resident of Berkshire, at least as recently as 1874. On July 4 of that year nine were killed by two gunners near Pittsfield, and on the 20th of the same month sixteen were bagged on the hillsides in Great Barrington (Forest and Stream, II. 1874, 394).

167. Rallus virginianus *Linn.*

VIRGINIA RAIL.

Rare summer resident (Stockbridge, Lanesboro).

Some years ago Dr. C. W. Snyder killed a rail in Sheffield that must have been either a King Rail (*Rallus elegans* Aud.) or a Clapper Rail (*Rallus crepitans* Gmel.). The bird was unfortunately destroyed in an attempt to mount it. Dr. Snyder at the time supposed it was a female Clapper Rail, and his description of the specimen from memory fits the Clapper Rail better than the King Rail, although the latter is the species one would expect to find in Southern Berkshire.

168. Porzana carolina (*Linn.*).

SORA RAIL.

Rare summer resident (Stockbridge, Lanesboro).

169. Gallinula galeata (*Licht.*).

FLORIDA GALLINULE.

Very rare summer resident. One or two pairs breed every year in Lanesboro. We found a nest with seven eggs there, July 17, 1897. Arrives May 7, (1899).

170. Fulica americana *Gmel.*

AMERICAN COOT.

Transient visitant in the autumn. Perhaps some pass through in the spring, but all that we have seen have been in the autumn.

171. Ardea herodias *Linn.*

GREAT BLUE HERON.

Not common; chiefly in the spring and autumn. We have seen it occasionally in summer, our earliest summer date being July 20. Latest autumn record November 26. Mr. R. T.

Fisher says he has found it all through the summer at the Cheshire Reservoir, and that he has seen quite immature birds there. We have no positive evidence of its breeding within the county.

172. Butorides virescens (*Linn.*).

GREEN HERON.

Summer resident. Not abundant.

173. Nycticorax nycticorax nævius (*Bodd.*).

AMERICAN NIGHT HERON.

Summer resident. Not common.

174. Botaurus lentiginosus (*Montag.*).

AMERICAN BITTERN.

Not common summer resident. Found in the interval marshes of the Housatonic and Hoosac Valleys. Seen as late as September 29, at Lanesboro.

175. Branta canadensis (*Linn.*).

CANADA GOOSE.

Common transient spring and autumn visitant.

176. Æx sponsa (*Linn.*).

WOOD DUCK.

Not rare summer resident, but much less common than it used to be.

177. Anas boscas *Linn.*

MALLARD.

Rare transient visitant. We have seen one that was killed in Sheffield by F. K. Shears. Dr. Charles W. Snyder informs us that he has shot five Mallards (at four different times) on one pond in Sheffield. Mr. J. H. Wood also tells us that this duck is occasionally taken on Pontoosuc Lake.

178. Anas obscura *Gmel.*

BLACK DUCK.

Tolerably common summer resident More common during the spring and autumn.

179. Nettion carolinense (*Gmel.*).

GREEN-WINGED TEAL.

Transient visitant.

180. Querquedula discors (*Linn.*).

BLUE-WINGED TEAL.

Transient visitant in the autumn.

181. Spatula clypeata (*Linn.*).

SHOVELLER DUCK.

Extremely rare spring [and autumn ?] transient. Mr. J. M. Stevenson of Pittsfield has a female specimen shot by T. A. Schurr on the Housatonic River, Great Barrington, in March, 1887. Dr. Charles W. Snyder informs us that he once killed a female Shoveller in Sheffield.

182. Dafila acuta (*Linn.*).

PINTAIL DUCK.

Mr. C. P. Taylor of Hinsdale informs us that he once shot this species. He has favored us with a description of the specimen killed.

Mr. J. H. Wood tells us that he has taken the Redhead, *Nyroca americana* (Eyt.), on the lakes in Pittsfield.

183. Clangula clangula americana (*Bonap.*).

AMERICAN GOLDEN-EYE.

We have seen two specimens shot in Sheffield by F. K. Shears and R. F. Smith. J. H. Wood also tells us that he has found this species on Pontoosuc Lake. It is included in the Williams College list of the birds of Williamstown.

184. Charitonetta albeola (*Linn.*).

BUFFLE-HEAD DUCK.

Rare transient visitant. Williamstown (A. Hopkins, Chadbourne's List, 1858, p. 358), Pittsfield (*teste* J. H. Wood), Sheffield (three killed, out of a flock of five, *teste* Dr. Charles W. Snyder).

185. Harelda hiemalis (*Linn.*).

LONG-TAILED DUCK.

Rare transient visitant. A female was taken in Lanesboro in the month of March by Mr. R. T. Fisher. Dr. Charles W. Snyder informs us that he has shot one in Sheffield.

186. Œdemia deglandi *Bonap.*

WHITE-WINGED SCOTER.

Mr. R. T. Fisher tells us of a flight of White-winged Scoters at the Cheshire Reservoir in the autumn of 1895. There is a male in the collection of R. T. Smith of Sheffield, killed by him in that town.

187. Merganser americanus (*Cass.*).

AMERICAN GOOSANDER.

Not very rare transient spring and autumn visitant. We have seen a good many that were shot on the Housatonic River in the southern part of the county (Sheffield, etc.), where it appears to be not uncommon during the spring migration; Cheshire Reservoir, latter part of February and in March, and again in October (*teste* R. T. Fisher); Pontoosuc Lake (*teste* J. H. Wood); Williamstown (Chadbourne's List, 1858, p. 358).

188. Phalacrocorax auritus (*Less.*).

DOUBLE-CRESTED CORMORANT.

Accidental visitant. There is a mounted specimen in the Young Men's Christian Association's rooms in Pittsfield, killed by a Mr. Tucker on Pontoosuc Lake in the autumn of 1897.

189. Petrel sp.

A small petrel was shot on the Ashmere Reservoir, Hinsdale, about October 19, 1894, by C. P. Taylor. Some of the feathers from this specimen were examined by the junior author, but there were not enough for an accurate determination of the species. It was most likely Leach's Petrel, *Oceanodroma leucorrhoa* (Vieill.).

190. Sterna hirundo *Linn.?*

common tern?

Mr. C. P. Taylor tells us that he once shot a Common Tern on Ashmere Reservoir. The specimen was mounted, but has since been lost sight of. Mr. J. H. Wood, too, assures us that "Mackerel Gulls" have occasionally been shot in the neighborhood of Pittsfield.

191. Sterna fuliginosa *Gmel.*

sooty tern.

Accidental visitant. One record only; Williamstown, near the Hoosac River, September, 1876. Tenney, Amer. Nat., XI. April, 1877, 243 [Merriam, Trans. Conn. Acad., IV. 1877, 134; Allen, Bull. N. O. C., II. 1877, 74, Bull. Essex Inst., X. 1878, 30, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., I. 1886, 227; Chadbourne, Journ. Boston Zoölog. Soc., I. 1882, 34; Stearns and Coues, N. E. Bird Life, Part II. 1883, 374].

192. Larus philadelphia (*Ord*).

bonaparte's gull.

Rare transient visitant in the spring and autumn. We have seen one that was killed out of a flock of seven on Pontoosuc Lake, by Mr. Harvey of Great Barrington, in November, 1893; another shot on a pond in Dalton in the spring. Another, now in Mr. C. F. Batchelder's collection in Cambridge, was shot on Pontoosuc Lake, November 4, 1894, by W. E. Clogher. May 29, 1898, we saw what must have been either a Bonaparte's Gull or a Laughing Gull (*Larus atricilla* Linn.), flying over

Pontoosuc Lake. Mr. R. T. Fisher, a resident of Lanesboro, tells us that Bonaparte's Gull is the only gull he has ever seen in Berkshire.

193. Larus argentatus *Brünn.*

HERRING GULL.

After much questioning of competent observers resident in the county, we are led to believe that the Herring Gull is an extremely rare bird in Berkshire. We have advices, however, from trustworthy sources, of the presence of a pair on the Mill Pond in Sheffield some years ago. The precise date of their occurrence there we have not been able to obtain.

194. Gavia imber (*Gunn.*).

GREAT NORTHERN DIVER.

Transient visitant in the spring and autumn. Not uncommon on the larger ponds during the month of May, to the end, and again in September and October (*teste* R. T. Fisher). We once found one in the Clarksburg Reservoir on the 13th of June (1896), but have no positive evidence that it breeds within the limits of the county.

195. Podilymbus podiceps (*Linn.*).

PIED-BILLED GREBE.

Summer resident of very local distribution. Breeds in considerable numbers at the upper end of Pontoosuc Lake and the Cheshire Reservoir. The Pied-billed Grebes appear on their breeding grounds as soon as these are freed from ice. The time of their arrival varies therefore in different years, in accordance with the progress of the season. In the neighborhood of Boston they may come as early as the 22d of March, as they did in 1894, or, when the ice lingers late in the ponds and marshes, their arrival may be deferred even to the middle of April. We unfortunately lack data bearing on the precise time of arrival of these birds in Berkshire County. Since the ponds open, as a rule, much later than they do on the seaboard, it may be assumed that the Berkshire grebes are more

tardy in their arrival. In the backward spring of 1899, Pontoosuc Lake was not wholly clear of ice till April 27. On the 1st of May we found the grebes in full numbers in their breeding-haunts at the head of the lake. No sooner have they come than their lusty notes strike the ear of all who are curious of such things. The cry oftenest heard is a loud cuckoo-like *cuck-cuck-cuck-cuck*, KOW, KOW, KOW, the last notes pitched lower than the preliminary ones. They also at times shout in a still louder voice, *wáh-hoo*, *wáh-hoo*, the voice falling about an octave between the two notes of each *wáh-hoo*. This cry strongly suggests the call of a Loon. These grebes have, besides, an alarm note, *toot*, *toot*, *toot*, which reminds one of the whistles that bicyclists were wont to carry some years ago. These various sounds, together with sundry low comfortable murmurings, make up the musical repertory of the grebe. During the months of September and October the number of grebes native to these waters is visibly augmented by transient migrants. This increase is especially apparent about October 1. By the end of October most of them have departed for the south. Our latest autumnal record for this grebe in Massachusetts is October 30, 1898, Lexington. We have found the nest of the Pied-billed Grebe with eggs as early as April 27 and as late as June 28 (in eastern Mass.).

196. COLYMBUS HOLBŒLLII (*Reinh.*).

HOLBŒLL'S GREBE.

Accidental visitant. From a letter written by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Rowland of Lee to Mr. Bradford Torrey, March 27, 1893, we learn that a Holbœll's Grebe, in breeding plumage, was captured alive on the snow, in Tyringham, on the 19th of March, 1893; that another was reported as captured in Tyringham on the same day and released; and, finally, that another, in winter plumage, was found dead in the town of Lee on the 24th or 25th of the same month. The latter was skinned and preserved.

Mr. T. A. Schurr, a taxidermist of Pittsfield, tells us that a specimen of this species was brought to him alive by A. Bur-

bank on the 21st of December, 1893. Holböll's Grebe is listed with a query in Prof. Chadbourne's catalogue of the birds of Williamstown, 1858, p. 358.

197. Uria lomvia (*Linn.*).

BRÜNNICH'S MURRE.

Accidental visitant. Roland F. Smith of Sheffield has a mounted specimen that was found and killed on the ice by boys, in the winter, somewhere between Great Barrington and Egremont. Another was killed on Onota Lake on the 30th of November, 1899. The head and feet of this specimen were sent to us for identification. From a letter from Dr. Charles W. Snyder, we learn that he once shot a "Guillemot" —probably this species—in southern Berkshire.

INTRODUCED SPECIES.

The European House Sparrow, *Passer domesticus* (Linn.), is the only introduced species that has become firmly established in Berkshire. Several kinds of game birds have from time to time been turned out in various parts of the county, but none of them as yet appear to be naturalized. According to Mr. William Brewster (Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., I. 1886, 269–270) the Prairie Hen, *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), has been thus introduced, and Dr. W. H. Wentworth of Pittsfield tells us that attempts have been made to add the European Quail, *Coturnix coturnix* (Linn.), Common Pheasant, *Phasianus colchicus* Linn., and Ring-necked Pheasant, *Phasianus torquatus* Gmel., to the fauna of the county. Partridges from California were turned loose in Greylock Notch, about ten years ago. During the winter following their liberation they were fed by a kind-hearted farmer in the Notch, but they failed to secure a permanent hold in that region.

SPECIES INCORRECTLY ASSIGNED TO BERKSHIRE, THROUGH ERRONEOUS DETERMINATIONS.

"Muscicapa minuta *Wils.*"

"small-headed flycatcher."

Peabody (Rep. Orn. Mass., 1839, p. 297) was told by Dr. Emmons that this apocryphal species was common in Berkshire. It figures nominally, too, in Chadbourne's Catalogue of the Birds of Williamstown (Williams Quarterly, V. 1858, 357). The bird referred to in each case was probably *Empidonax minimus.*

Empidonax virescens (*Vieill.*).

(*E. acadicus auct.*)

green-crested flycatcher.

In the Williamstown list, p. 357, where it probably stands for *E. traillii alnorum.*

Dryobates villosus leucomelas (*Bodd.*).

northern hairy woodpecker.

"*Picus canadensis*" as well as "*Picus villosus*" has a place in the Williamstown list, p. 358. The true Northern Hairy Woodpecker is not now admitted as a Massachusetts bird.

Colymbus cristatus *Linn.*

great crested grebe.

Williamstown list, p. 358. This species has no valid record for North America. The entry in the Williamstown catalogue may have been based on a specimen of *C. holbœllii.*

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1829. Dewey, Chester. A History of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts. By gentlemen in the county, clergy-

men and laymen. [Edited by David D. Field. Part I. written by Chester Dewey.] Pittsfield, 1829.

Part I. pp. 37, 38. Forty-four Berkshire birds noticed under vernacular names. Of these about ten are indeterminable on account of the nomenclature used.

1833. Emmons, Ebenezer. A Catalogue of the Animals and Plants in Massachusetts. II.—Birds. By Ebenezer Emmons, M. D., Professor of Natural History in Williams College. E. Hitchcock's Report Geol., Mineral, Bot., and Zoöl. of Mass., pp. 545–551, Amherst, 1833. Second ed., pp. 528–534, Amherst, 1835 (also issued separately at Amherst, 1835, 142 pp., the catalogue of birds occupying pp. 8–14).

Contains a few special notes relating to the birds of northern Berkshire. *Dendræca blackburniæ* and *Junco hiemalis* noted as breeding in the mountains. In the main a merely nominal list of the birds of the whole state, the status of each species being indicated by conventional signs. It is worthy of notice that *Regulus satrapa*, *Sitta canadensis*, *Certhia familiaris americana*, *Dendræca maculosa*, *Zonotrichia albicollis*, and *Sphyrapicus varius* were all marked in this early list as breeding in Massachusetts. Emmons's authority in these cases has since been called in question, but it is now well known that all of these birds do breed on Greylock, within a few miles of Emmons's home.

1834. Emmons, Ebenezer. Observations on the time of the appearance of the Spring Birds in Williamstown, Mass., in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833. Amer. Jour. Sci., XXVI. 1834, 208.

Observations on 23 species.

1839. Peabody, William B. O. A Report on the Ornithology of Massachusetts. Boston, 1839.

Professor Emmons said to have told Peabody that the Small-headed Flycatcher, *Muscicapa minuta*, was common in Berkshire (p. 297), and that the Red-bellied Woodpecker, *Melanerpes carolinus*, had been shot by him [in Berkshire?] in the season of incubation (p. 336). See p. 142 of this memoir.

1857. Brewer, Thomas M. North American Oölogy. Part I. Smithsonian Contrib. to Knowledge, Vol. XI. [Washington, 1857.]

Record and figure of egg of *Falco sparverius* from Williamstown, p. 17, Pl. II. fig. 15*a*. Record of egg of *Buteo latissimus* from Williamstown, p. 31.

1858. Chadbourne, P. A. Natural History Catalogue for Williamstown, Mass. Williams Quarterly, Vol. V., No. 4, pp. 342–358. Williamstown, 1858. (List of the Birds, pp. 357, 358.)

Nominal list of 123 species, without annotation. Three of the species are queried, three are entered erroneously.

1864. Allen, J. A. Catalogue of the birds found at Springfield, Mass. Proc. Essex Inst., IV. 1864, 48–98.

Icteria virens, taken in Berkshire County in the breeding-season, recorded on p. 98.

1867. Samuels, Edward A. Ornithology and Oölogy of New England. Boston, 1867.

Eggs of *Falco sparverius* from Williamstown, Mass., p. 22.

1874. Brewer, T. M. In Baird, Brewer and Ridgway's History of North American Birds, Land Birds, 3 vols., Boston, 1874.

Spiza americana breeding in Williamstown, Vol. II. p. 67. *Surnia ulula caparoch* taken in Berkshire Co., Vol. III. p. 77. *Buteo latissimus* breeding near Williamstown, Vol. III. p. 261.

1874. Anonymous. In 'Forest and Stream,' Vol. II. July 30, 1874, p. 394.

Nine Woodcock killed in Pittsfield by two gunners on July 4, 1874.

1874. Sage, C. H. In 'Forest and Stream,' Vol. II. July 30, 1874, p. 394.

Sixteen Woodcock bagged on hillsides in Great Barrington, and numerous coveys of young Ruffed Grouse noticed, July 20, 1874.

1877. Tenney, Sanborn. The Raven and Sooty Tern in Williamstown, Mass. American Naturalist, XI. April, 1877, 243.

1877. Minot, H. D. The Land-Birds and Game-Birds of New England. Salem and Boston, 1877.

Occurrence of a covey of Quail, *Colinus virginianus*, in the Berkshire Hills regarded as accidental, p. 396.

1878. "Young Naturalist." In 'Forest and Stream,' Vol. X., May 23, 1878, p. 297.

Flock of Goldfinches observed at North Adams, Jan. 13, 1878; Purple Finch, Jan. 27 (seen occasionally every winter); Robin, March 8; Song Sparrow, Snowbirds, and one Wood Pewee [*sic*], March 10.

1878. B[rewer], T. M. In Bull. Nuttall Orn. Club, III., July, 1878, 138–139.

Dendræca striata in North Adams in August, with immature young.

1884. Brewster, William. Notes on the Summer Birds of Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Auk, I. 1884, 5–16.

Account of an ornithological exploration of Greylock Mountain and its neighborhood, June 21–29, 1883. Sixty-six species of birds noted. *Hylocichla ustulata swainsonii* and *Geothlypis philadelphia* for the first time recorded as summer residents of Massachusetts.

1885. Smith, J. E. A. History of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, with biographical sketches of its prominent men. 2 vols., New York, 1885.

Observations on a few birds, of no value, Vol. I., Chap. II. p. 21.

1886. Brewster, William. In letter printed in Allen's 'Revised List of the Birds of Massachusetts,' Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., I. 1886, 269–270.

Introduction of the Prairie Hen, *Tympanuchus americanus*, into Berkshire County.

1887. Tenney, Sanborn Gove. The Nesting of *Collyrio ludovicianus* Baird. American Naturalist, XXI. 1887, 90.
Lanius ludovicianus migrans breeding in Williamstown.

1888. Foote, W. H. In 'Bay State Oölogist,' Vol. I. No. 2, Feb. 1888, p. 12.
White-headed Eagle at Richmond Pond and Onota Lake.

1888. Brewster, William. Breeding of the Golden-crested Kinglet (*Regulus satrapa*) in Worcester County, Massachusetts, with a description of its nest and eggs. Auk, V., Oct. 1888, 337–344.
Records the discovery of *Regulus satrapa* on Greylock Mountain in the breeding-season, by Walter Faxon in the summer of 1888.

1889. Faxon, Walter. On the Summer Birds of Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Auk, VI. 1889, 39–46, 99–107.
An account of the summer birds observed at Sheffield, June 17–26, 1888 (76 species), and on Greylock Mountain, June 28–July 16, 1888 (80 species). Combined Sheffield and Greylock lists, 94 species. *Hylocichla alicia bicknelli* and *Helminthophila peregrina* for the first time recorded from the state in summer.

1890. Faxon, Walter. The Hudsonian Chickadee (*Parus hudsonicus*) in Vermont and Massachusetts. Auk, VII. 1890, 407–408.
Parus hudsonicus on Greylock in December, 1889.

1892. Faxon, Walter. The Prairie Horned Lark (*Otocoris alpestris praticola*) breeding in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Auk, IX. April 1892, 201–202.
Breeding in North Adams and Williamstown. First breeding record for the state.

1892. Anonymous. In North Adams 'Transcript,' May 26, 1892.
Notice of a strange bird that appeared in Williamstown about the middle of May, 1892; "smaller than English Sparrows and quite pretty, the male being black with a mix-

ture of bright red, and the female being brown with a mixture of pale red." Tame as cage-birds. [Probably American Crossbills.]

1892. Morris, Robert O. *Perisoreus canadensis* in Massachusetts. Auk, IX. Oct. 1892, 395.

"While on Mount Greylock, in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, June 18, 1892, Mr. Wm. W. Colburn and myself observed the presence of a Canada Jay." See p. 138.

1893. Hoffmann, Ralph. In Boston Evening Transcript, April 22, 1893.

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1894. Brewster, William. Breeding of the Prairie Horned Lark (*Otocoris alpestris praticola*) near Pittsfield, Mass. Auk. XI. 1894, 326–327.

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1895. Hoffmann, Ralph. In North Adams 'Transcript,' August 21, 1895.

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1895. Faxon, Walter. The Rough-winged Swallow (*Stelgidopteryx serripennis*) breeding in North Adams, Berkshire County, Mass. Auk, XII. Oct. 1895, 392.

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1895. Faxon, Walter. *Turdus alicia bicknelli* and *Otocoris alpestris praticola* as summer residents of Berkshire County, Mass. Auk, XII. Oct. 1895, 392–393.

1896. Allen, Francis H. Summer Birds of Willoughby Lake, [Vt.]. St. Johnsbury Caledonian, Sept. 11, 1896.

Records observations of W. Faxon and R. Hoffmann relating to the replacement of Hermit Thrushes by Wood Thrushes on the sides of Greylock Mountain in 1895.

1895. Faxon, Walter. The Louisiana Water-Thrush breeding in Berkshire County, Mass. Auk, XIII. Oct. 1895, 344.

First record of the breeding of *Siurus motacilla* in Massachusetts, at Sheffield.

1897. Hoag, Benjamin. Wilson's Snipe in the Berkshire Hills in Winter. 'Osprey,' Vol. I. 1897, 122.

One shot in Hancock, February 2, 1897.

1897. Faxon, Walter. Purple Martins breeding in Electric Arc-light Caps. Auk, XIV. 1897, 407–408.

Thus nesting in North Adams.

1898. Brewster, William. Report on the Mammals and Birds. In Ann. Rep. of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy for 1897–98, p. 27. Cambridge, 1898.

Record of *Empidonax flaviventris* taken in Lanesboro, Berkshire County, by W. Faxon, June 1, 1898.

1899. Adams, John Coleman. Nature Studies in Berkshire. New York and London, 1899.

Notice of a few birds seen at Pontoosuc Lake, pp. 202–204. Of no importance.

MARK HOPKINS

By JOHN BASCOM.

MARK HOPKINS.

A man of worth and ability cannot afford to have his character presented otherwise than with fair and incisive criticism. The defects of such a person give the necessary conditions for understanding his powers. Like lights and shadows in a landscape, they are the complements of each other, and no presentation is complete without them both. The perfect photograph must not undergo an exposure that burns away its surfaces, nor yet one so slight as to leave them undeveloped. The undulations of the countenance, with its salient features and sharp depressions, make up the record of character.

Dr. Hopkins was a man of sufficient goodness to come fully under this principle. He suffers rather than gains by a too indulgent hand in the delineation of his life; and the more so, as the events of that life were unmomentous, and call the more unqualifiedly for that play of spiritual light which gives them meaning and force. It is, therefore, with this blended purpose of fairness, faithfulness, and freedom that I shall discuss his characteristics, that an image as palpable and as living as possible may remain with us.

The events in the life of Dr. Hopkins were of the most simple and unimpressive character. They showed a little local color in their daily progress, but at a short distance in time they all melt into an indivisible gray. He was born in Stockbridge, Mass., in 1802. He was chiefly fitted for college in the neighborhood of his own home, and was graduated at Williams college in 1824. The next six years were spent in the study of medicine, in teaching, and in a tutorship at Williams. In 1830 he was called to the professorship of rhetoric and moral philosophy, and in 1836, to the presidency of the college. This position he retained until 1872. From that date until his death in 1887, he remained professor of moral and intellectual philosophy.

I shall not occupy your attention with this familiar record, already sufficiently rendered,—a record whose most striking features are its unusual duration and its unusual uniformity. The events which make up the life of Dr. Hopkins were as well fitted to repress and conceal his powers as to stimulate them or give them lustre. A secluded village, slowly climbing to a thousand, then to fifteen hundred inhabitants; a country college, passing leisurely through all the dull primary phases of development; slight contact with the outside world, and the somewhat humdrum life of a teacher, did not constitute a direct, well-graded road to eminence and honor. Yet, under those conditions eminence and honor were attained by him in an unusual degree. There has hardly been in New England, in our generation, another man in the educational and religious world so widely known and so universally esteemed as Dr. Hopkins. Reverence and love gathered readily and freshly in his footsteps. None were disposed to withold or stint his praises. The fortune—and it is a most delightful and enviable fortune—which consists in the good-will of good men, fell to him with an ease and fulness most extraordinary. That in the circumstances, and far more that in the man himself, which gave occasion to this success, claim our interested attention.

The influence of Dr. Hopkins was not exercised over men of unusual attainments, on the one hand, nor over the popular mind on the other. He was especially fitted to address an audience of educated men, chiefly occupied with practical affairs. He restored them at once to a higher and wider outlook over the accepted truths on which their lives were resting. Dr. Hopkins was not unpopular with a popular audience, but the high esteem in which he was held was a contagion of good-will caught from above, rather than due to any immediate power to fill the hearts of men. His field of influence was emphatically the mid-way field of intelligence to which most college graduates belong.

Dr. Hopkins was a product of New England and of Berkshire soil in its best productive power. A wide-branching elm on one of our intervales is no more indigenous than he. The educational advantages of Berkshire at the opening of the cen-

tury would not seem to us very imposing; but the social surroundings were neither feeble nor neutral. There were strong intellectual and moral elements in the air. By stock, by home-training, by personal intercourse, by religious belief, by public relations, Dr. Hopkins entered freely into, and richly appropriated this vigorous, common life. To technical education he owed very little; to general discipline very much. This fact may serve, in part, to explain the superior sense he always entertained of the interior force of events—the less palpable conditions of activity—as contrasted with its minute and carefully constructed formulæ. He never had much respect for fixed and mechanical methods, nor took any real interest in elaborating them. Born and reared in Southern Berkshire, he spent his entire later life in Northern Berkshire, and was as native as a man could be to its best and most habitual sentiments. There were no restless impulses in him to carry him beyond these predetermined bounds. He enjoyed the people, loved the scenery, and found in these surroundings sufficient activity to satisfy him. These hills and mountains hardly rest more contentedly in their places under the storms that attack them or the sunshine that cheers them, than he did, to these same conditions born. He once remarked that "he had no fault to find with New England climate." Certainly, then, he could have no fault to find with New England life. He stood in most perfect response to its most fortunate phases. It was not so much that he adopted Berkshire, or that Berkshire adopted him, as that the two grew together, in one way, to one end. Such complete nutritive concord with one's surroundings makes success free and spontaneous.

Quite in the same direction of influence lay the long period covered by the labors of Dr. Hopkins. He was never removed from the soil in which he was first planted. His strength and prosperity were steadily accumulative. Berkshire belonged to him. He was known and loved in all its borders. Much of his reputation was due to a steady percolation of respect in this region through all the strata of society, and to its extension outward, like the bursting up of fountains, to those who had no personal knowledge of him. The movement was continuous

almost from his birth to the very day of his death. The outgoing wave was not deep, but it was enough to dimple the water to its utmost shore.

These were fortunate occasions, but occasions which themselves grew out of the character of the man, and lead us back at once to it in any real exposition of his power. The most marked endowment of Dr. Hopkins was breadth of intellectual grasp. It was not his province so much to present new ideas as it was to give the freshest force and most complete form to familiar ideas. Those who listened to him were pleased and surprised at the solidity of the foundations which he laid open as supporting current religious faith. In this respect he was not unlike Burke, to whom the foundations of the moral universe and the foundations of the English constitution were one and the same thing; or unlike Bishop Butler, for whom the truths of faith were woven into the very web of the world.

His powers of presentation were pre-eminent. He introduced into his discussions just enough philosophy to give them breadth, and not enough to create confusion. The sense of narrowness and inadequacy disappeared. The listener was made to feel that he had looked at the intellectual world from an elevation, and that the view was one of marked inspiration and beauty. One always felt, for example, in the Association of the officers of the New England colleges which has held its annual session for many years, that when it came, in turn, to Dr. Hopkins to speak, the subject under discussion would receive some fresh, sagacious, and comprehensive presentation. The scope of intellectual and religious ideas, and their larger relation to each other, were present to him in unusual clearness. He took, on these uplands of speculative truths, long and masterful strides. The logic of Dr. Hopkins was a constructive, instructive logic rather than a formal one. To logic, as a study, he had an aversion, and was ever willing, in instruction, to shorten it, or assign it to another. Vigorous and sound reasoning was with him so much a matter of course that he took no pleasure in a close analysis of its successive steps. I wish to put distinctly foremost in his gifts this clear, easy, and commanding movement in the higher themes of thought.

His perceptive powers were good, but, in close subserviency to his primary purpose, were chiefly directed toward men. He was quick to discern what was in them and to adapt his discourse to it.

His emotions were measured, moderate, and reposeful. He suffered very little from the irritation and wastefulness of unquiet feelings. There was nothing in his constitution strenuous or exacting, not even in the moral realm. The continuity and balance of his mind were not readily disturbed by personal sensibilities. He rarely showed any anger. He impressed you with the restfulness of a large nature. Little thoughts, little ways, and little feelings were all alien to him. Faculty meettings, over which he so long presided, were good places for pin pricks, but he seldom seemed to be aware of them. That which especially characterized his large powers was placidity in action. He was not led nor driven by any spirit, good or bad, into any wilderness.

His physical endowments were in entire harmony with his spiritual ones. He was a large man, deliberate in movement, serene and gracious and thoughtful in expression. The dignity of his presence and bearing went before his words, and ushered them in effectively.

Dr. Hopkins was cordial in manner, and approached all classes of men freely and easily. He had that true democracy which shows itself in ready spiritual touch. He said kind and encouraging things to young men, and was careful to take from any criticism he had to bestow the sting of severity and indifference. On the chapel stage, he would often first assure an awkward young man that he had in him "the elements of a good speaker," and then gradually disclose to him the fact that they were still in a very elementary form.

He had a keen sense of humor; told a story well, and followed it up with very hearty, shaking laughter. These pleasing secondary qualities kept the path open to him for his primary endowments, and subjected them to the least possible waste. No power was lost in friction.

In all these particulars he had admirable gifts, and gifts which easily led to that extended and superior popularity of

which we have spoken. There were also in these endowments, as in all endowments, definite limitations. The want of nervous tension left him on the verge of indolence. He was physically indolent. The physical energy of the race to which he belonged seemed to have been bestowed on his brother, Albert, who overflowed with physical power. I recollect on one occasion when I was with Professor Hopkins on his "Steep-acres," hidden among the mountains, Dr. Hopkins unexpectedly presented himself, hanging awkwardly upon his horse, and, with a tolerant smile, said to his brother, "The more land you have like this, the worse off you are." While he never neglected a duty, nor was ever careless in its fulfilment, he was indisposed to multiply them. He was not an ambitious man. He was not pressing toward any intellectual or social goal. It cost him very little to spend his entire life in Williamstown. His intellectual purposes were no more declared and pushing than his social ones. He was content to take the work that was measured out to him; and certainly the measurement was a liberal one.

This want of stringency also somewhat impaired his influence over those who came in contact with him for a longer time than the college course, and more closely than the mere student. Many of those who had been trained under him in the college returned to work with him as tutors and professors. They frequently felt the want of continued guidance and persistent push in one from whom they had previously received so much, and toward whom deference and reverence had become instinctive. In this respect he stood in marked contrast to a man like Dr. Woolsey. His resources were not a rich mine in which you could work at your leisure all your life.

Understanding then somewhat distinctly the precise type to which Dr. Hopkins belonged, we are ready to estimate the various phrases of his protracted and productive labors. We shall speak first of his college instruction and administration—the activity in which his life was most directly gathered up. Those who came under his instruction enjoyed it so universally and were so much stimulated by it, as to make his work in the college during many years the distinguishing feature of the institution. Teaching was agreeable to him. He stood on

easy terms with his class. Under the stimulus of intellectual contact, he set his vigorous powers the pleasurable task of giving breadth, interest, immediate revelation to the fruitful topics before him. Students are always thankful for vistas, especially in philosophy. Obscure themes crowd, like a mist, so closely on the mind, hide so much more than they reveal, and render all directions so uncertain and so much alike, that any rift in the clouds, any lifting of the veil, any letting in of the light, any breaking through to the world beyond, are most grateful and exhilarating. Dr. Hopkins understood this perfectly. He did not occupy himself with the details of a lesson, but brought the subject-matter at once into broad relations with the leading features of that system of things which encloses us. This was done in so direct a way, by question, answer, and exposition, that the student could not easily avoid understanding, sharing, and enjoying the movement. His manner of treating the student was kindly and free. He let him tumble into any pitfalls that might be in his path, laughed at him, and helped him out. The teacher and the pupil moved forward together by a conjoint effort. The question was as instructive as the answer, and led the way to it. There was very little enforcement. The question was the prow of the vessel that cleft the waters as it swept into fresh seas. He thus begot wakefulness, caution, independence, and also a sense of strength. Some have thought themselves able to trace these characteristics in his students all through life.

His mind was of a free, ranging order. He was not conventional; he was not scholarly. He read comparatively little, and never elevated himself to a thorough pursuit of any topic. His instruction was not marked, therefore, by erudition, and did not lead to painstaking investigation. It had a weak side and a strong side, and both in an unusual degree. Its weakness was a real weakness, but its strength was of so much greater moment that most were not aware of the deficiency. It awakened the mind and put it in possession of itself. The student was not diverted by acquisition, or by systematized forms of inquiry, from the use of his own powers for his own ends. It was difficult for Dr. Hopkins not to despise mere erudition, or

to take interest in any form of speculation which lost its way in the clouds. He never penetrated into German philosophy, nor into any philosophy which to his very practical, as well as vigorous, mind, seemed to lie far afield. The unfavorable side of this tendency was, that his students might easily lack that material of knowledge which is so necessary to sustain and make profitable the processes of thought. They were open, as he himself was, to an undue estimate of independent activity. The roots did not penetrate deeply enough into the soil to secure the steady growth of the tree.

There is a great difference between the vigorous and erudite teacher in the hold they get upon different minds. The movement of a teacher with an acquisitive and thoroughly equipped mind, is like the revolution of an eccentric wheel. It presses hard in one direction and relaxes in other directions. Those who are ready to acquire are impelled to acquire, and those who are averse to protracted effort, gain very little. The mind of native vigor, on the other hand, revolves, like the concentric wheel, with even pressure in all directions. The majority are stirred to secure what lies so near them, and find an unexpected pleasure in the immediate use of their powers. It was not knowledge, but the uses of knowledge, that Dr. Hopkins held in supreme estimate. Sustained by his own vigor of thought, he did not fully understand the ultimate indentity of the two. He had the better gift, and it sufficed him in his liberal giving. Few teachers have wrought as definite, and as desirable, results, on as large a proportion of their pupils. His work as a teacher was admirable, and has been the true, firm centre of his honor. To have quickened so many minds, of so wide influence, through so many years, is to have sown seed with an open hand on soil which brings forth a hundred fold.

It is not surprising that reverence became a contagion among the alumni of Williams, and that the simplicity and dignity of the relation which united them to Dr. Hopkins were sometimes marred by praise too diffuse and too conventional. Nectar is a wholesome drink for the gods, and even then Hebe alone should be the cup-bearer.

In the hands of Dr. Hopkins the administration of the college was always very secondary to its instruction. "The least possible" was the tacit maxim which controlled his management. He was not a man of affairs; he took no pleasure in the details of business. Contrivance was irksome to him, rather than enjoyable. He was not of an active habit. He never performed any physical work. It would have pleased him better if the college could have prospered by rain and sunshine, like a thrifty plant unfolding leaf and petal under its own sweet will. The larger share of his period of service was one of meagre claims and small ambitions in all the accessories of instruction; and this fact he accepted with serene patience. His discipline was of the same easy going character.

He had as little disposition as as a man of ability could well possess to impose his will on others. The instructors under him enjoyed entire liberty, and were left to make what way they could in their work, provided that they occasioned no vexatious disturbance. There was no pertinacity of plan, or prying criticism, or needless intrusion, on his part to disturb them. It is very difficult to hold a college faculty to fitting responsibility for the able discharge of their duties. If a professor is once well in position, the negligence or the inability which will unseat him must be very conspicuous. Here is a serious embarrassment from which almost all educational institutions suffer. The demand for the very best instruction is not kept supreme over other, more personal considerations. Dr. Hopkins was lenient to the faults of those under him, and had very little disposition to set the college world right by his own strength. He was sagacious in resisting innovations on the part of the faculty, and in ultimately accomplishing his own purposes; but this he did chiefly by delay. The solution that was not to his mind never came to the birth. As presiding officer, he allowed a discussion, not in the line of his wishes, to drift off into conversation and disappear.

In the guidance of the students, the least control was with him the best control. He did not manufacture discipline, and he disliked the framing of rules which might have this effect. If the college was "lumbering along," he felt it wise to let it

alone. Sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof. If you shifted the harness, it was sure, he said, to develop friction at some new point. Bear with it as long as you can. This is the sound conservative temper. He had great confidence in the natural drift of just influences, and was very slow to disturb them. He was painstaking in coming into close contact with the student. His work of instruction was extended and confined to no one class. He introduced himself to the freshmen by familiar lectures on the government of body and mind. He preached frequently, lectured during the week, visited the students in their rooms, and entertained them at his home. He had a right, therefore, to feel that sound, potent moral forces were provided, and to be jealous of any appearance of coercion fitted to disturb them in their operation. There is much to be said in favor of the somewhat slouchy garment which Dr. Hopkins thought the best, as contrasted with the canny and close-fitting jacket, which brings the discipline of the college disagreeably home to the student every moment.

There are two forms of control, each valuable in different degrees and ways. The first and superior form is that of personal influence, keeping in the background the sense of authority and constraint. Only favorable conditions and large moral endowments make this method possible. The second form, at a somewhat wide remove in value from the first form, is that of precise rules uniformly administered. A government of this kind is mechanical, but often does its work fairly well.

If a government of the first kind is supplemented with strength and decision when any exigency arises, it becomes complete and ideal. Dr. Hopkins was not masterful when the occasion for authority arose. His nature was not cogent enough. He disliked to bear down opposition. When, therefore, any grave trouble was pending, he held himself, as much as possible, in reserve, waiting for a favorable change of circumstances, and a subsidence of passion. His management thus became adroit rather than commanding. He possessed inexhaustible patience and good feeling, and that unfailing common sense which kept him from irritable speech and un-

tenable positions. Time was thus always on his side. The stars in their courses fought for him.

He did not love intrigue, and had no passion for manipulation. His aloofness thus arose from the want of a policy rather than from the possession of a policy; from a willingness to wait till the way out of trouble should become visible and he be quit of his adversary with least vexation. One of my classmates, now a judge on the supreme bench of New Hampshire, used to speak of him as "foxy"; and he was foxy, because he was prudently waiting to see which was the wise way to jump. He did not jump till he saw where he was likely to land. Going to him, on one occasion, with a matter of college strife, my predominant impression was how kindly I had been received, and how little I had actually learned. This reserve was not watching for the right moment to pounce down on his victim, but a quiet waiting rather to see if things would not untangle of their own accord. He did not hopelessly snarl the skein he was winding by nervously jerking it. He minimized rather than magnified offences. There was, in earlier years, a strong impression in the college that marriage, on the part of a student, exposed him to dismissal. A young man had been married and was very apprehensive of the result. He concluded to go to Dr. Hopkins and make a clean breast of it. The doctor, with amused interest, let him find his tremulous way entirely through his confession, and then remarked, "Married are you! So am I."

The two brothers supplemented each other in discipline as elsewhere. The old chapel was approached by a single door through a hall-way that opened also by a single door on the common. As the students left the chapel by classes, it was a favorite amusement of the older classes in the earlier times to block the second door, and hold back the younger classes in the hall and the chapel. They could do this more safely as the space in the rear was immediately crowded by those seeking egress, and the faculty were left securely shut up in the room beyond. Dr. Hopkins, on such an occasion, would thrust his head from the window, whence a limited survey of the field could be secured, and cry in mild expostulation, "Young

men! Young men!" His brother, scenting the battle, and thankful for the opportunity which had been so kindly given him, was instantly in the midst of the strife, opening a swath right and left.

It need not be said that a government so kind, so generous, so loyal to liberty and to all higher impulses, carried with it the good-will of the students, and issued, in the great majority of cases, in a perfectly free field for the higher ends of instruction. Not even a large mind and a large method are invulnerable; but they are our best and most enduring defense.

Instruction with Dr. Hopkins was by far the primary purpose, and the primary power. He was a disciplinarian only so far as discipline was an absolute necessity in reaching this end. He expected, and not mistakenly, that the higher object steadily pursued would get to itself accessories convenient and safe.

We have next to consider Dr. Hopkins as a speaker and writer. We can rightly, in a general way, contrast writing with speaking as performing a different service, and expressing a different attitude of mind. The treatise is self-centered, aims at investigation, and an exhaustive statement of interior relations. The speech is exterior in its purpose, aims at presentation, and marshalls the truth in a manner that makes it most effective on the minds of certain persons. Investigation is more reflective and personal, presentation more persuasive and general. Under this contrast, Dr. Hopkins was a speaker rather than a writer. Nearly all his work bore the oratorical character. He opened his first course of Lowell lectures with a very apt passage which may well stand for his habitual attitude: "I come not to dispute but to exhibit truth; to do my part in a great work, which must be done for every generation, by showing them so that they will see for themselves, the grounds on which their belief in the Christian religion rests. I come to stand at the door of the temple of truth, and ask you to go in with me and see for yourselves the foundations and the shafts of those pillars upon which its dome is reared. I ask you in the words of one of old to 'walk with me about our Zion, and go round about her to tell the towers thereof, to mark well her bulwarks, to consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following'."

His mind needed the impulse of an audience. His younger son is credited with saying that the sermons which his father composed while shaving were not equal to his other efforts. Though he was rarely negligent in his work, his discourses rose in power as certainly under the swell of the occasion as does the ocean under the force of the wind. When he simply mused, the fire smouldered; but when it caught spiritual air from the presence of men, it flamed out. He had a keen quick sense of the intellectual attitude of those whom he addressed, and his mind acted in instant response to it. Yet his speeches were not passionate, and were rarely pathetic. They were not the eloquent words of one deeply moved by the audience actually before him, and in excited interchange of feeling with him, but the animated, deliberate movement of one who is confident of the scope and value of what he has to say, and is aroused by the presence of those who, he makes no doubt, are ready to receive it. It was intellectual more than emotional activity which the receptive assembly, present or anticipated, evoked in him. His speech was continuous and sustained instruction. It would be difficult to find a series of sermons of more commanding breadth of thought, and of more intellectual force, than his baccalaureate discourses.

The fact that I am urging is that his works took shape under an external intellectual demand rather than under an internal speculative impulse. This is shown by the list of his publications. These, as given in his life by Dr. Carter, are ninety in number. Sixty-six of them are sermons and addresses, sixteen of them are articles in leading periodicals, eight of them are volumes. The practical character of the articles and their small number, as contrasted with the number of the discourses, and the still more striking fact that every one of the eight volumes published by him were first called out either as lectures or addresses, show decisively that his fruitfulness was due to, and directed by, the stimulating force of the intellectual atmosphere which enveloped him. He met with great power the constant claims which came to him, but went very little beyond them. Nor was there anything in the laborious character of his daily duties to explain this result. These duties were not

burdensome as contrasted with what many men bear, nor were they especially exhausting to him. The real reason of this result is found in the fact that his mind was chiefly responsive to the demands that others made upon. "Now, while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry."

As a speaker, and we may refer of him chiefly as a speaker for his composition was always prevaded by this active impulse, Dr. Hopkins was, in the best use of the word, a finished rhetorician. He was always able to attain dignity and scope without inflation, and force with no loss of simplicity. The thought was uppermost, clear and comprehensive. The ornamentation was delicate and effective, and closely inwrought in the discourse. His rhetorical touch was that of a master who takes pleasure in his own powers. The final effect was lifting and stimulating in a high degree, and was accompanied with a sense of serenity and wealth by virtue of the solidity of the thought. No work was ever better done by him than his baccalaureate sermons, and they show his mind in most vigorous and free response to the noble claims laid upon it. Though his thoughts were philosopical, his English was pure, simple, and effective.

It remains to speak of him as a theologian and philosopher; for a definite system of spiritual and speculative belief underlay all his labor. Here again we would place the stronger emphasis on his religious or theological, rather than on his speculative or philosophical, attitude. He warmly cherished, in its more liberal form, the Congregational creed, and his speculation was ever in expansion and exposition of its central truths. His philosophy was not his faith so much as his faith was his philosophy.

Dr. Hopkins was a philosopher in this sense; his mind moved freely in the higher region of speculative thought, and brought most of its best material from this realm. He was not a philosopher in the sense of instituting searching and exhaustive inquiries in pure, philosophical relations.

He was like one who goes often to the forest, cuts excellent timber, and employs it to much profit; not like one who deeply

interests himself in the love of forestry, and makes it his primary purpose to nourish the forest itself under his skilful hand.

His "Outline Study of Man," judged as a speculative product, is a meagre outcome for a life-long study of psychology, and, such as it is, was called out as a course of Lowell lectures. I should be in danger of making an unfair impression by a transient mention of what I deem philosophical positions wrongly taken. Those interested in philosophy fall by the ears too readily to be, in a brief space, either fair or instructive critics. This bias of each mind can only be laid open and sufficiently guarded against by the fullest discussion. For this we have no time; nor is there any occasion for it in a general estimate of the character of Dr. Hopkins. It lies, as a palpable fact on the face of his production, that philosophy with him was a means to an end, not itself an end.

The branch of philosophy to which he gave most thought was ethics. Even here, in place of a simple complete treatise, we have two volumes, ordered independently of each other, as two courses of Lowell lectures.

There are two theories of morals, so comprehensive and exclusive as hardly to give room for any other theory. The intuitionalist claims that it belongs to reason as reason to recognize ethical rules of conduct, and to discern them as laws binding on a rational being. This authority he expresses by the word right. The empiricist affirms that our sensibilities to pain and pleasure, accompanied with the intellectual powers by which we compare and collate these terms of experience, issue in laws of conduct; and that these laws, in their most general form, constitute ethics. No third position has been successfully taken. The two views may be combined to this extent. We may, with the intuitionalist, recognize the discernment of moral relations as a primitive power, and, with the empiricist, we may trace the actual development of this power, issuing as a system of practical morals in connection with protracted personal and social experience. The view of Dr. Hopkins rests on neither of the two theories, but draws from them both in a somewhat haphazard manner. He makes

blessedness, a superior form of happiness, the object of pursuit. He affirms that the mind directly recognizes the superiority of the more spiritual kinds of happiness over the more sensuous kinds. This relation of superiority he regards as also indicated by the fact, that that which is inferior in our constitution is always a condition to that which is superior. Hence comes his cardinal law of limitation. Each form of pleasure may be pursued so far as it does not interfere with a higher form.

There is obvious ingenuity in this theory, nor is it altogether destitute of practical force. In making, however, the moral law dependent on the varying quality of happiness, and not happiness, in its deeper forms, dependent on the law, it subverts the true relation,—the relation so profoundly brought out in the words of our Savior: "He that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it."

We certainly cannot claim that spiritual enjoyments are recognized by all, in their incipient forms, as more enjoyable than other enjoyments. The only possible way in which most would come to this conclusion, would not be from direct experience, but from a wide contemplation of the bearing of these pleasures, in contrast with sensuous pleasures, on the entire life of man. It is in this contemplation that ethical laws emerge to the reason and then, being obeyed, slowly accumulate about themselves the enjoyments which sustain them. The perception of law has prior power over that of pleasure, and not the perceptions of pleasure over that of law. The skill with which Dr. Hopkins was able to use his weapons is admirably shown in his discussions on this point with Dr. McCosh, a man of a truly philosophical temper, but not of equal adroitness.

Dr. Hopkins was a theologian more than a philosopher. Theology stands for the more practical affirmations of philosophy on the side of our spiritual relations and duties. Dr. Hopkins' theology was of the most liberal orthodox form recognized among Congregationalists. His aim was not so much to correct this accepted faith, or to give it more exact definition, as to make it clear and authoritative. It satisfied his own mind, and he brought to its support the resources of philosophy. His

philosophy culminated in these beliefs. Here, again, he and his brother supplemented each other in their college work. He enforced the rationale of faith, and Prof. Hopkins called out the emotional fervor which gave it immediate action. That his prior interest in his labor lay in theology is seen in the superior strength he gathered into his religious discourses, and in the importance which attached to his instruction in the catechism. Nowhere did he show more power than in making rational, current religious opinions. His instruction in the catechism was remarkable for the universal interest it awakened. His mind was bold and free without being sceptical. Its movement was not unlike that of a spirited, well-trained horse in a large pasture. He loves his liberty, and yet leaps no fences. If driven into a corner, he easily turns the flank of his pursuers and is at once at large again.

It is also seen in the fact that he put no strength into philosophical speculation aside from its practical bearing. Nor did he eagerly take up any new points of contact between speculation and religious thought. The doctrine of evolution, which so seriously modifies our spiritual conceptions, covered, in its rapid establishment, all the latter half of his life. He never felt fully the force of the argument, nor quite fathomed the combined thought and feeling which lie at the basis of empiricism. He satisfied himself, therefore, with a few critical strokes delivered here and there, now and then, but never addressed himself earnestly to a study of evolution, or to its bearings on faith. His remarkable adroitness enabled him to plant those few blows more effectively than most could have delivered them in his circumstances; but he brought no real light to the widest, deepest spiritual issue of our time.

Dr. Hopkins belonged preëminently to the world of higher spiritual influences; and in this realm we must judge him. He stood instinctively, he stood rationally, in the front solid rank of those who have faith. He never fell behind that rank: he never stepped in front of it. He kept pace with it as naturally as the soldier who advances and retreats with his comrades. It is said of Lord Palmerston that "his knowledge of English public opinions was something like an instinct. It

could always be trusted." Dr. Hopkins had a direct and unfailing apprehension of the present bearings of spiritual truth on the best minds about him; and he handled this truth, not so much in its ultimate speculative relations, as in its instant constructive force, its power to bring peace and composure to men as he found them. It is necessary to understand this ruling, practical, spiritual instinct in Dr. Hopkins in order to estimate him justly. No more than Lord Palmerston had he any wide range of vision, searching out remote possibilities; but, like him, he had an instant and firm grasp of the events occurring arround him. In view of them, he thought, felt, and acted.

Here also, in large part, is the secret of his great success. The master at Eton remarks, in a current periodical: "The frequency with which head-masters of public schools are chosen to fill the highest ecclesiastical offices is proof that they are, as a rule, men of moderate and practical orthodoxy." Dr. Hopkins was one of these men of moderate and practical orthodoxy. His great ability and his unfailing prudence fitted him for any and every position of trust, called out honor, and put honor once earned at interest, year after year. This is seen in his protracted presidency of the American Board.

One is prompted to ask, in view of such an experience, has then the offence of the cross ceased? It certainly has not ceased. Any decided movement forward will meet with opposition and detraction in our day as in previous days. But not every man is called, in a distinctive way, to carry a cross. We, as conservatives and radicals, judge each other too harshly. We express, in our opinions, the limitations of our own horizon, rather than the actual bounds between light and darkness, good and evil. The conservative is angered at the haste of the radical; the radical is indignant at the delay of the conservative; yet the moral, social world accepts both elements, thrives by both, and holds its safe course between them. Our merit lies in rendering our own part well; softening it and uniting it to the parts of those about us. The temper of Dr. Hopkins was what I may venture to call a spiritually artistic temper. His brother possessed, in a high degree, a spiritually devout tem-

per. There is still another frame of mind, more comprehensive than either, a spiritually constructive temper: one which holds before itself, as a vivid ideal, each fresh phase of the Kingdom of Heaven, and one whose worship instantly passes, in reference to it, into the petition, Thy kingdom come. This is the temper of our Lord, and who of us shall attain unto it! The mind truly rejoices in what is, but is at the same instant thrown forward by means of it into that which ought to be. The artistic mind belonged to Dr. Hopkins. Its demand is for proportion, symmetry, harmony, repose. It has a quick, keen sense of surroundings; the things that are best and most beautiful in them, and wishes to nourish them and bring them to present expression. It draws back from the disturbance and overthrow of radical changes, as the aesthete looks with dismay at the plucking down of ancient walls and the removal of early monuments. The beauty and the perfection its seeks are those indigenous to the soil rather than those which are to be grown in a renovated soil. It understands the work of God so far only as it has gone forward, and it would deal cautiously with it, lest it may mar it in the handling, or precipitate it in a wrong direction.

A quiet temper, a lack of tension, a wide intellectual survey, a predominantly practical disposition, that quick response to current sensibilities, of which I have spoken, left Dr. Hopkins a contented and composed observer of all that was good in his time, ready to partake in it and to perfect it; but not preeminently sensible that the value of each seed and of every season lies primarily in its relation to the fruits which are to follow. In place of that inextinguishable impulse which carries us into the years before us, he cherished that placid power which puts us in possession of the years about us. His mastery was immediate rather than remote; of current events rather than of coming events. The fully furnished child of God is entitled to both tempers; to live in God and to live toward God.

All good men think and act much alike in regard to the current gospel; it is only when they confront the conquering gospel that marked differences make their appearance. They dis-

agree as to what that conquering gospel is, as to its relation to the current gospel, and as to the way in which it is to prevail among men. Some think it hardly more than a wider formula of familiar truth, and that it will, of its own accord, take its place in due time among the things which are. Others feel, that whenever it comes, it is essentially new and peculiarly germinant; that it must send forth its own heralds and commission its own apostles—one brotherhood in all ages. Men lend themselves, therefore, in one temper or another, reluctantly or exultingly, according to their own peculiar moral force, to this ever renewed voice of God.

> "The time is out of joint; Oh! cursed spite
> That ever I was born to set it right."

Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel. Dr. Hopkins did not feel habitually this poignant, nipping air of conflict which envelops us. He was neither a scout nor a pioneer, but he marched through a long life, at the head of his column, greatly honored of men and an honor to men. While we covet the best gifts, nevertheless, let us rejoice in those manifold gifts which make the world beautiful; a present fact full of the glory of God, as well as the presence of greater glory,—the dawn of a divine day.

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Arthur Latham Perry.

By Dr. JOHN BASCOM.

ARTHUR LATHAM PERRY.

Professor Perry should receive a somewhat full record at the hands of the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society. He spent in Berkshire nearly his entire active life. He occupied a position of distinction and gave to it farther distinction. He was a patient inquirer into the early history of the county and wrote extendedly upon it. He was for fourteen years president of this society, commencing his services in 1883. He, in many ways, stimulated its efforts. I shall strive, therefore, to give a concise and complete outline of his life.

Arthur Latham Perry was born in Lyme, New Hampshire, February 27th, 1830. His father was a Congregational clergyman. His mother, Lydia Gray, was of Scotch-Irish extraction, and shared the strong convictions of that pushing, devout and relentless strain. His early life was cramped in expenditure and narrow in social advantages. These limitations were no serious loss. They were the rugged soil in which sturdy qualities struck root. He gained his earlier instruction at home and at Thetford Academy, just across the Connecticut river. He entered Williams College as a freshman in 1848, and was graduated in '52. He was a good scholar and became a member of the Beta Theta Pi society, which was after a few years replaced by the Alpha Delta Phi society. The first year after graduation he taught in Washington, D. C. He had in college a liberal share of Dr. Hopkins' esteem, and was called back to Williams as tutor in '53. The following year he was appointed professor of history, political economy and the German language. The breadth of the title indicates the narrowness of the resources of the college. Its gradual reduction, as the years went by, mark the growth of the college in instructional force. In addition to these subjects, he taught, for a time, the evidences of Christianity.

The centre of his professorship was, from the beginning, political economy, and it became at length its exclusive sub-

ject; under the broader form, however, of political science. On account of failing health, he resigned his work in '91, having served as professor thirty-seven years. He was fortunate in his professorsip, as political science especially interested him, and was waiting for thorough development. The fulcrum of his power in the college and beyond the college was economies. He brought to its pursuit strong, ambitious and hard study. He stands, in the history of the college, with those few instructors who, by long service, diligence and personal energy, have made it eminent as an educational institution. He was never an indifferent or negligible term.

He was married in '56 to Mary Smedley, member of a family prominent in the early history of the town. This gave him a new claim on the soil. Seven children were the fruit of this marriage, six sons and one daughter. One son died in infancy, and the remaining children constitute to-day a notable family.

Prof. Perry was a good citizen, took an active part in town affairs, and was deeply interested in national events. His mind was practical rather than theoretical, though always in search of underlying principles. He was more proficient in language than in mathematics, in literature than in science, in politics than in philosophy. He was fond of poetry and possessed of literary insight. Notwithstanding the fact that he received as his commencement appointment the metaphysical oration, he had comparatively little hold on philosophy. He gave Mill's System of Logic prolonged study, and it became to him a somewhat inadequate organ of philosophical thought. It was not in a speculative region that the chief strength of Professor Perry was found. He is to be judged by the influence he exerted on the practical questions of life. To these he responded promptly, almost passionately, with a sound, democratic temper. Privilege of all sorts was an abomination to him. He was frank in speech and cordial in manner, but was too extreme in opinion to always win favor. While he was very concessive to the opinions of others on questions which he had not investigated, on those to which he had given attention, he was positive and dogmatic This quality went with his Scotch-Irish blood. His genial temper never entirely hid his aggressive convictions.

We can understand a man only in connection with the deeper impulses which give direction to his thoughts. It is the conflict of the undertow with the surface currents of life that defines manhood and settles its true value. Professor Perry's temper was distinctly ethical, vigorously reformatory. His mind was thoroughly under the influence of ethical ideas; he could not do otherwise than inquire into existing institutions and methods; defend, attack and censure them as this inner vision moved him. It ceases to the reformer to be the theory of life to make the most out of the things that are, to settle down into them like a brooding bird on her nest. The ethical man is not always quietly saying, "Taking human nature as it is this and this must follow". Why take it as it is? Is not human nature, and are not human events, in the throes of development? Strike for a future above and beyond the present. Events are not to be left to the mischievous customs which have sway in them. Time is a creative process, not a staying one. It wins the future by growth.

The reformer is inevitably a man more or less uncomfortable to those about him. There is reason for the aphorism. A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and among his own people. His own people know how disagreeable he is capable of being, how pungent his criticism, how inopportune his rebukes. Word upon word, precept upon precept, are not a favorite method with those who would avoid all disturbance.

But one fully possessed of the ethical law and possessed by it can not fail to apply it to the events and persons about him. There is not so great a trust as an idea, fitted to improve society. It is like a diamond placed in one's charge. All things else are secondary; says Paul, Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel. Yet any one who presses against social bounds to bend them or break them will at once be thought foolish or fanatical or mischievous. He will find occasion to take up the lament of Jeremiah, Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast born me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth! I have neither lent on usury nor have men lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me.

We are bidden to judge righteous judgments, and it is the firm and unequivocal character of these judgments that

gives vitality to the spiritual law. It is these judgments that correct public opinion, correct themselves and bear us forward toward the truth. It is a primary command, in a world of error, that we judge, and that we judge righteous judgments. We are farther enjoined as a qualifying command. Judge not that ye be not judged. Here enters the spirit of charity. We do not readily penetrate to the motives and feelings of man, hence we must hold our personal judgments somewhat in suspension. Large sympathy with men must go with a clear discrimination into the nature of action. The two things are not impossible of reconciliation, though the harmony taxes our thoughts.

There are three faults which follow on to worry and weaken the reformer. He is liable to be denunciatory. His temper is not softened and ripened into the sweetness of love. His methods may not be conciliatory. Why should he be careful to conciliate men whom it is his business to oppose. He readily becomes extravagant in his condemnation. The woods, he thinks, are full of one kind of wolves, and every thing must be laid aside to hunt them. The reformer thus judges his words rather as abstract propositions, than as words addressed to his fellow men, irresponsive and preoccupied with other considerations. Men are not driven to do a good action. They are persuaded to do it, and the spirit of persuasion companions with a patient, loving temper. Thus the practical man, the sympathetic man and the man of many devices are liable to be opposed to the reformer, as too quick, harsh and caustic for human life.

Prof. Perry, in his thorough going reformatory temper, did not altogether escape the faults which are so easily associated with it. We are not disposed to emphasize these mistakes. A man wastes his life if he does not do good in the world; but he who attempts to do good must take his life in his hand and steal cautiously on, as if about to strike down an enemy. We cannot say that Professor Perry did his work without mistakes; we must say, I think, that he overtopped these mistakes with a commanding love of the work. In the sixty years in which I have known intimately the persons associated with instruction in Williams College, there has not been one who has surpassed Professor Perry in a constant,

truth-loving temper. Professor Hopkins was more of a saint, but his sainthood took on more of a conventional character. He was such a saint as we are all willing to have.

The direction in which Professor Perry chiefly expressed his ethical, reformatory temper was the commercial world. His gospel was the gospel of free trade. In his mind free trade was not an economic theory simply, much less was it one plank in a political platform; it was a fundamental principle in revelation, a defense against the plutocratic temper, a starting point in that equality and harmony of interests which lie at the foundation of the Kingdom of Heaven. He framed his political economy on this ruling idea, and was constantly working it over in order to give this idea more perfect expression. He prided himself on the concise expression given to this doctrine of unrestrained, commercial intercourse in the aphorism, "A market for products is products in a market". The reciprocal advantage of trade here mounts up to a universal, social law. Scarcely another economist, in his day and in our land, exerted so wide, so popular and so well grounded an influence, in behalf of unobstructed commerce as did he. He held his opinion with the distinctness and enforced it with the vigor which carried Bright and Cobden into permanent historic fame. It is easy for those in the hot pursuit of wealth, eagles who know where the carcass is; easy for those who shoulder arms in a political party organized for the spoils of victory, to speak contemptuously of this enthusism as the folly of an unpractical mind; yet the slow avenging steps of retribution have followed our self-seeking policy of protection, till we are involved in a disastrous distribution of wealth, a contradiction of democratic principles, a contention of the rich with the poor, whose issues are hidden in the dark folds of the future. The trust problem of to-day owes much of its magnitude and virulence to advantages conferred by law.

Professor Perry encountered in this cause no little obliquy. The college gave him negative rather than positive support, and this in spite of the fact that so many of its leading alumni have been distinguished advocates of free trade. William Cullen Bryant, David Dudley Field, David A. Wells were in succession presidents of the Free Trade League. Pro-

fessor Perry wrote often and spoke often on this national topic, and his productions were models of clear, popular and forcible advocacy. One of the more conspicuous events in the history of the college will be this enforcement of the doctrine of free trade; and Professor Perry will stand prominent in a group of alumni, not easily surpassed in ability and integrity, whose rallying thought was free trade. We shall, in the future, seek shelter from any accusation of inadequacy or sterility in our instruction, behind the broad shield of these economists and statesmen who espoused a principle so pertinent to our social and political wants.

There arose, at this point, both in the minds of his pupils and of his associates a feeling of disparagement, incident to the earnestness, simplicity and frequency with which he pressed on the attention his favorite doctrine of free trade. There was a spontaneity and lack of reserve in his presentation that opened the way to ridicule, and the more so as the most of those who listened to him were without deep convictions, and had exhausted to little purpose the repertory of arms provided by the advocates of protection. Much the majority of the students of Williams College are bred in the political ideas involved in a protective system, as mother's milk. Many of them were not disposed to surrender their opinions to a doctrine enforced so uncompromisingly and persistently. They resolved themselves, at times, into a rabble of boys, ready to fling stones as occasion offered. The intrepid and irritable temper of the professor aided them in this purpose; and discussion was tinctured with ridicule and cynicism. If a man confronts a nest of hornets his superiority is lost in the wrathful multitude which opposes him. Retreat becomes the only resource of safety. Unfortunately Scotch-Irish blood is not fleet of foot.

Professor Perry gave the public three volumes on Economics. The first volume, the source of the other two, was entitled, Political Economy. It went through many editions, and was extensively used as a text book. The volume is full, of easy apprehension and interesting. The circumstances of its composition were favorable. When the professor took up his labor of instruction, his knowledge of the subject was limited. President Wayland's book was comparatively a primer,

and the English works, at that time the chief source of information, were not well adapted to instructional work. Perry was made professor in 1854, and I was appointed professor of rhetoric in the following year. I had taught one college class in political economy, and had thereby gained some knowledge and interest in the study. Rhetoric never pleased me, and never absorbed my attention. At Professor Perry's request, I wrote a text book on Political Economy. Its chief purpose was to put, in a serviceable form, the English doctrines on the subject. It gave to the professor time to enlarge his knowledge and elaborate his ideas before he composed his own book. It also readily gave way when the professor was prepared to replace it.. Neither of us was well fitted to furnish a text book for the other. My work was concise and difficult, his voluminous and easy. We embarassed each other at every step; I, by giving too little, he, by giving too much. Many years later, when it fell to me to teach economics in the college, I could not make up my mind to use the professor's book, though it had long had sway.

This first work of Professor Perry later gave rise to an Introduction to Political Economy, designed for high school work; and still later to the Principles of Political Economy. This volume was simply the earlier work reconstructed and rewritten. It shows the dominance of the root idea in his mind. The first volume discussed, as has been the almost universal custom of economists, production as a separate topic. The second volume opens with value, follows this presentation with the three forms of value, and then considers at length, commerce, and the conditions of commerce, which set the machine in motion. As an economist, Professor Perry holds an independent and important position in this central development of exchange. It tends at once to strengthen the ethical resources of trade, and also to overlook and weaken the ethical ideas which go with distribution. I was never able to make any impression on the Professor's mind by the social claims of the several agents in production. Like Professor Sumner or the Evening Post, he thought those sufficiently provided for in the laws of trade. Ethical ideas percolate slowly; but in the end, like water, they saturate even the rock, the close grained rock of self-interest.

While economic principles ruled the professor's mind, he had visions in other directions. One of these, close to his own experience as a teacher, was that of a different and more sympathetic temper in college government. He regarded the college as an intellectual commonwealth, with its four estates; the students, the alumni, the faculty, the trustees. These four, united in one purpose, should have each a free and concurrent part in its pursuit. There should be no effort on the part of a single person, or a single estate, to control a college, in neglect of any part of its constituency. There should be no room in college life for personal ambitions, and personal power. Fellowship should be the ruling idea. This view he has enforced in his history of the college and in his volume of Miscellanies. He was active in securing a representation of the alumni on the board of trustees, and gave aid in carrying out the arrangement. He was for a long period secretary of the alumni association, and was quick to discern any action hostile to the influence of the alumni. His irritation was sometimes extreme, and led to his resignation of the position. Many others shared his view of the fitting relation of the several parts of a college to each other; and though, so far, the idea has only reached an inadequate expression, it is one to which we are likely to return again and again, till a commonwealth of letters is established and the spirit of domination and intrigue wholly cast out.

The students have gained something in the direction indicated. They have lost somewhat the temper of those who have simply to suffer government and resist it, and have established among themselves a ruling disposition in harmony with their real interests. The alumni have been slow to accept and rise to their opportunity. Their meetings are so frequently governed by the desire to have a good time that they have not been willing to accept the office of criticism and correction. The alumni, in their varied and urgent contact with the world, are the best judges of the defects and excellencies of the training to which they have been subjected. The loyalty which usually distinguishes that body is a guarantee that their fault-finding will be kindly and profitable. Colleges have a right to expect more stimulus and guidance from their alumni than they usually receive.

The persons most liable to be banefully overshadowed in college life are the professors. They are deeply interested in the prosperity of the college, both for its own sake and because their personal success is so thoroughly involved in it. A professor would seem to have a right to influence, where that influence is so essential to his own work. Yet there are grave difficulties in making a faculty a ruling body. The several departments of study are liable to cherish a divided temper, and to be each clamorous for its own progress. A long discipline is called for in seeking the collective welfare before it becomes the normal idea in all minds. A faculty is a poor disciplinary body. Its action is likely to be fitful and exaggerated. The view of each professor is one sided. The patient, big-hearted disposition is wanting. A kindly and discriminating spirit of discipline is best developed in a single person. Government by a faculty assumes its best form when it settles down into a system of rules, evenly applied. That which stands most in the way of the control of a faculty is its inability to watch over its own members. Colleges suffer greatly from inadequate instruction. They are unable to rid themselves of a professor whose work is defective. The most critical point in the management of an institution of learning is to secure and retain instructors well endowed for their task. While, therefore, a commonwealth of letters is a stimulating conception, it is one as difficult to realize as a commonwealth of citizens. We are often compelled to sacrifice the true substance of government for the discipline which attends on the weak efforts put forth to secure it. A government by the people is good, because we hope thereby to make the people ultimately capable of good government.

Professor Perry did not urge his scheme of college construction as one which might be entertained to advantage, and pushed as opportunity was present, but as an immediate remedy of urgent evils—something which had already become imperative in college life. He was thus taking issue with a strong tendency in college government, and malgovernment, to leave power in the hands of those who can most readily seize and use it. He met the tendency with a vigor and persistency akin to its own. A sharp collision was the consequence, which the publication of his history brought fully into the light. The

severest and most unmerited criticism in this work was bestowed on the administration of President Carter, whose ideas of college relations were very different from those of the professor. It is not necessary to say that the professor was considerate in all that he said and did. It is needful to say that he was thoroughly absorbed in his underlying purpose, and was convinced of its beneficial character and immediate applicability to Williams College. He did not see that the very presence of another method may become proof of its necessity. He bitterly characterized all control of one, or of a few, over the many as "subterraneous". This word was with him the height of censure. It seems to me that the professor was quite right in thinking that a college, of all forms of combination, should most readily become an open minded commonwealth, and that he was at fault only when he supposed that those in authority must at once understand and accept the better method. The theoretical acceptance of an idea by a few and the practical mastery of it by the many are a long way apart. The entire ethical development of the world lies between them.

Next to political economy, Professor Perry took most pleasure in history, and had much aptitude in its pursuit. He had a constant interest in historical events, and a passion for accumulating them. His history of the town and of the college, published in two large volumes, contains far more information on these subjects than all other books and essays combined. Indeed these books are not found fault with for containing too little, but for containing too much. He sifted personal interviews, local tradiions, and public documents with so coarse a sieve that he let some things through that had not yet lost their displeasing odor to those interested in them. Yet, by means of this material, he gave color and life to events which were rapidly fading from vision.. The pure blue of the sky is due to minute particles. History is so forced through the strainer of conventional sentiment as to lose much of its true flavor. Professor Perry was able to make the final impression vivid and just. He entertained a positive notion of historical faithfulness. The narrative was not to be the means of bringing certain impressions to the surface and hiding other impressions. It was to be a full reproduction of the facts. History has to do with men's vices as well as with

their virtues, their failures as well as their fulfillments. Faults and foibles are the back ground of character, and we cannot arrive at the true quality of action otherwise than through its concomitants. Faults, in their true relation, do less mischief than does the effort to hide them. The most complete rendering of human conduct is the most instructive. History is not open to private interpretation, but is the text book of the race. These ideas Professor Perry applied especially to biographical sketches. He strove to give the lights and shadows of character. Herndon's rendering of Lincoln seemed to him worthy of commendation. It is our common humanity that puts us in sympathy with men and makes their experience comforting and stimulating. This accurate delineation is coming, more and more, to be recognized as the secret of successful biography. The shadow under the eye must be rendered as well as the light in the eye.

Herein was another offence to many whose good will was of great value to Professor Perry. A man possessed by a strong ethical theory is sure, at times, to be bitterly disappointed at the reception his words meet. He thinks that a view which seems to him just and pertinent will be readily received by others. The facts are often the reverse. Cherished sentiments are disturbed, pleasing opinions brushed aside, while the convictions which were designed to take their place are felt to be unkind, uncalled for and even untrue. Who is this monitor who undertakes to reshape public sentiment and set up scales of his own in which to weigh men whom we have accepted as good and great?

This result was conspicuous in Professor Perry's treatment of President Hopkins. It is a tradition of the college and of the community to praise Dr. Hopkins. He is our prophet, whose faultless character is to be assumed, yet this unqualified praise is as unjust to him who receives it, as it is dishonorable to those who bestow it. It is not surprising that one so constantly the recipient of honor should be injured thereby. Virtues are kept bright by the scouring processes of criticism and failure. It is hardly possible that the love of praise should not grow with the fact of praise. This foible of President Hopkins Professor Perry brings sharply out. The effect was that of throwing mud at an idol. The

devotees of worship were instantly stirred to anger. As a matter of fact Professor Perry was a sincere, generous and discriminating admirer of Dr. Hopkins. His general estimate of his character is, in a marked degree, just. If he saw blemishes which others failed to see, or seeing did not care to note, it was because he stood, for a long time, in close connection with President Hopkins, and cherished this notion of accurate delineation. When he took up his pen for the express purpose of describing the famous president for the benefit of coming generations, his interest. in all the details of character, at once deepened. He wished the picture to be a reproduction of the man, and not of the conventional idea concerning him. As one who thoroughly understood the feeling of Professor Perry, I am glad to testify to the esteem in which he held President Hopkins, an esteem which finds abundant expression in his history of the college. It was an opinion which belonged to all, or nearly all, the younger professors who came in contact with Dr. Hopkins. If we understand the personal characteristics of Professor Perry and his ruling purpose, wholesome and far reaching, we shall pass his faults of methods lightly by. In accordance with his own idea, we have no occasion to deny these faults of excessive self-confidence and unsoftened expression, but they ought not to veil the sterling qualities with which they were associated. Professor Perry united to a ruling ethical purpose, indifference to opposing sentiment, and some lack of ability to apprehend the feelings awakened by his words. With these he associated nervous irritability,—increased, in later life, by nervous disease,—the relentless push of his blood, and the ready accumulation of feeling when it begins to express itself. These qualities, bound up in one bundle, constituted a strong, aggressive and beneficent character, which we were glad to meet in the rugged events of life, and are glad to honor as the record of these events is made up. Good men may often be disagreeable because they disagree with the sentiment about them, and hasten to express that dissent. Concession is a key note in a life of self indulgence. Few are willing to sacrifice success for an idea. Most convince themselves that the success of the idea means and demands their own success. None but the man of spiritualized vision is aware of

the eclipse which success often brings to the man and the idea alike. How differently men render the words, If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto me.

It is quite true that the reformer may add, and is even likely to add, to the offence which is due to the truth, personal offence in its presentation. The hand subjected to hard labor will become callous. Yet, as long as we are tolerant of men who make little impression in the world for righteousness, it ought not to cost us much to be tolerant of those who err in the excess of zeal, bowing themselves to the burden they have to bear. We have a few words of excusure for ineffective, conventional goodness, and sharp words of censure for those whose schemes of improvement outstrip the canons of taste. I have known many college officers. I have known Professor Perry many years. I must rank him with the efficient few who have responded heartily to every spiritual claim. He always dmanded some forbearance from his associates, but he ever challenged their respect by outspoken and worthy purposes, pursued with unflinching integrity. The centre of all virtue is a pursuit of the truth; prudence in its expression is wholly secondary. We sin many times in lacking courage, where we sin once by failing in prudence. This is certainly the temper of our Christian faith. Prophets, apostles, our Lord, all come to the world on the side of rebuke and correction. The wise and the prudent gain but scanty recognition.

Some will think that, in speaking of Professor Perry, I have offered an apology; others that I have framed a defense; and others that I have pronounced an eulogy. I have done all three. My tribute is an apology, a defense and an eulogy. Who of us is there, if fairly treated, that does not need them all? Who of us can rest in an eulogy with no defense and no apology. If we know ourselves and know others, we know that these three are the terms of wise speech among men. If our purposes have been pure, our methods have been faulty; if we have spoken the right thing, we have not spoken it with sufficient sympathy and patience; if we escape censure at one point, it presses in upon us at another. Our very virtue is a victory over faults. Happy are we if our crescendo is from apology to defense, from defense to eulogy, from eulogy to love. When we shall lie quiet in

death with no word of self defense, no sharp retort, no fresh attack, may those apologetic, sympathetic, loving ones linger about us, in whose clear vision our frailties—dark spirits of the night—shall begin at once to flee away, and our better qualities—spirits of the day—gather fast and take on the light of eternity.

Professor Perry was the author of two large volumes of history, Origin of Williamstown, Williamstown and Williams College. He published a smaller volume entitled Miscellanies. The chief article in this volume is a sketch of the Scotch-Irish in the United States. These books cost him much labor, and gave him a right to the presidency of this society. The second of the two volumes was the occasion of sharp condemnation, and an effort, on the part of the trustees, at repression. In style and insight it is the best of his books, but it also suffers most under the blemish of a temper too aggressive and uncharitable. This is especially true of his treatment of the connection of President Carter with the college. The two men were very antagonistic in method, and could hardly be expected to understand each other.

In religious belief Professor Perry was growingly liberal. He did not wrap up his creed in a napkin, but put it out to usury. He was a spiritually minded man, and belonged with the few who are able to win truth with no loss of faith. He was ever more liberal, and ever more sure of the eternal verities of the spiritual life. His influence, in this regard, was wholesome in the college, as much so as that of any man at any time associated with it. It was not a dogma, a rite, an ecstacy that he enforced, but a hold of the thoughts and affections on religious truths. Each generation demands men of this unhesitating temper, this deep conviction, with which to conceive, frame and enforce the truth of the hour.

As the mountains, with rugged slopes, deep ravines and dark recesses, wherein storms gather and awe and fear lurk, may, in an hour of revelation, become thrones of light, monumental, uplifting, a divine disclosure, so our good men, in the ordinary progress of life, may harrow us with searching, exasperating speech, and, departing, leave a world grander, more renovating, more alive with hope than ever before.

In considering a life and character like those of Pro-

fessor Perry, one is deeply impressed with both its possibilities and its liabilities, the things which may be won and the things which may be lost. So many leading truths are to be inquired into, so many secondary and qualifying truths are to be associated with them, so much skill and forbearance are to be developed in their use, so much sympathy and such diverse forms of sympathy are to go with this unfolding, that we are led to feel that the world is too great and complicated a thing for any man's successful handling. The revelation of love is to be waited for, and we must walk gently, lest our own vision or the vision of others be broken. Growth is always such a marvel that we fearfully take our part in it, yet we know that it and it alone renovates all things. We must stand only where we are stationed; we must run only as we are sent; and whether we stand or run, we are dealing with things which infinitely transcend us. Our reward is the reward of children who are willing to be taught, and come at length to be willing to obey. In this temper of mind, the life whose record we have just considered addresses itself to us, and leaves us both strengthened and humbled by the sense of divine potency and of human frailty we meet with in it. It gives courage, and a little courage conquers all fear. When God shall give us men who need no allowance, when the Kingdom of Heaven shall take possession of the world and cover it from side to side, then, if we too have entered into this higher temper, we shall be able to look back upon ourselves of this earlier day with grateful apology, and upon our friends with sympathetic forgiveness, seeing whither the rugged path has led us all. Once at the summit, the sense of difficulty and failure will pass away; our feebleness of faith will have an end.

The failure of health led Prof. Perry to resign his work in the college in 1891. From that time on his strength slowly gave way and led, by a quiet path, to his death on the ninth of July, 1905.

JOHN BASCOM.

At the close of the paper Harlan H. Ballard, of the class of '74, brought vigorously out the kindly, cordial feeling which characterized Prof. Perry in his intercourse with the students,

and the confidence and good will thus begotten. He instanced his own experience under somewhat trying circumstances. This social sympathy was undoubtedly a very conspicuous and pleasant trait in Prof. Perry's bearing, and frequently stood in agreeable contrast with the reserved habits of other professors.

Henry Walbridge Taft.

By Judge JAMES MADISON BARKER.

HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT.

For more than sixty-five years the subject of this paper was identified with the county of Berkshire. During all that time he took an influential part in its life. His power was felt in the administration of the law, in the settlement of public questions, in the religious and charitable work of the community, in the right ordering of its financial institutions, in fostering the love of literature, in the promotion of art and of education, and in social life.

After the abundant tributes which have been paid to his memory, there remains no need of eulogy.

Let us see of what blood he came, what was his early training, and where and how he worked.

HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT

was born on November 13, 1818.

His parents were

Horace Wood Taft	b.	Montague, July 1, 1787.
	d.	Sunderland, March 7, 1868.
Mary Montague	b.	Sunderland, July 31, 1791.
	d.	Sunderland, September 27, 1880.

They were married on August 7, 1817, and Henry Walbridge was the first born of five children, four of whom were sons.

His grand parents were

Lyman Taft and Deborah (Wood) Taft.
John Montague and Abigail (Hubbard) Montague.

His great grand-parents were

Samuel Taft and Mary (Murdoch) Taft.
Dexter Wood and Deborah (Chapin) Wood.
Caleb Montague and Eunice (Root) Montague.
Israel Hubbard and Abigail (Smith) Hubbard.

His great, great, grand-parents were

Israel Taft and Mercy (Aldrich) Taft.
Benjamin Murdock and Mary (Hyde) Murdock.
Ezekiel Wood and Mary (Brown) Wood.
Seth Chapin and Bethia (Thurston) Chapin.
Samuel Montague and Elizabeth (White) Montague.
Joseph Root and Mary (Russell) Root.
Isaac Hubbard and Christian (Gunn) Hubbard.
Nathaniel Smith and Abigail (Allis) Smith.

Among the names of earlier ancestors in New England are those of

Belden	Haynes
Bishop	Kellogg
Day	Merriam
Dickinson	Symonds
Downing	Taylor
Field	Warner
Foote	Wyatt

Taft is a Scotch or Irish name. The family tradition is that in the times of Mary, Queen of Scotland, three brothers of the name left Scotland because of religious persecution and went to England, and that one of the three afterward settled in Ireland. One of his descendants, Robert Taft, who in his will called himself "Housewright", emigrated to this country and established himself at Malden as early as 1682. Of this Robert Taft, Henry W. Taft was a descendant, through Robert Jr., Israel, Samuel, Lyman and Horace W.

His mother Mary Mantague was descended from the emigrant Richard Montague, born at Boveny on Thames, England, in 1614, through John, born at Wethersfield, Conn., Samuel, one of the first settlers of Sunderland, Caleb, and Deacon John Montague.

Horace Wood Taft was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1806, and settled in Sunderland in 1810. He was by profession a lawyer. He was eight times elected to the legislature, was town clerk for fifty years, held the office of county commissioner by appointment until it became elective, and was then chosen for three consecutive terms.

Portraits of Richard Montague the emigrant, of John Montague of Wethersfield, of Deacon John Montague of Sunderland and of Horace W. Taft and Mary Montague Taft are to be found among the illustrations in the History of Sunderland.

Our friend first saw the light and passed his early years in a quiet village on the east bank of the Connecticut River. When the residents of Hadley, wishing to acquire more of the fertile river meadows, petitioned the General Court for another grant, they called the locality Swampfield. Later it received the attractive name of Sunderland. The village was sheltered from the east wind by hills rising a thousand feet in reight above tide water. Across the river to the west rose a higher but more distant range. To the north and south stretched the valley of the Connecticut. On either side of the wide main street, called the Town Street, were located the forty home lots of the original settlers, running back on one side to the river and on the other to the upland.

That for mutual protection their homes might be near together, and also to insure equality as to the kind of land between the several proprietors, the home lots were of four acres only; and the early divisions into several holdings were also small in area. Hence the village street, eight rods in width, was well lined with dwellings, among which stood some public buildings, and some stores and shops. Mr. Taft has left a description of the village as he remembered it to have been from 1825 to 1830, that is, while he was there a boy of from seven to twelve years. Just where was the house in which he was born he does not say, but of the three places in which his father lived, the earliest was on the west side of the Town Street next north of the old Montague place in which his mother was born, and but a little north of Bridge Lane which led down to the river bank, and on one corner of which stood the toll-gatherer's house, and on the other the store in the southeast corner of which in the second story was his father's office, reached by an outside stair.

We can fancy the boy walking in the wide street between his home and school or church or to his father's office or upon some errand; perhaps also we might fancy him going down Bridge Lane to gaze into the steadily flowing river, or to watch

the travellers crossing from Deerfield. It is harder to fancy him breaking, with other boys at play, the sunny silence of the wide street. He always must have been quiet, thoughtful, studious, and yet he has spoken of playing in Sunderland Street the old-fashioned game of wicket-ball, a diversion he indulged in at Lenox at a later day. The house which his father occupied for some years before and after 1838 was on the East side of the Town Street; an ancient house, built by one of the original settlers, and standing between two fine elm trees which were near the street.

Amherst, where he attended an Academy and partly fitted for college, was another lovely place of residence, and then came Greenfield, with its wide street and beautiful old homes with the Lovers' Seat overlooking the village from the east. For more than a year (1836-1837) he was at Greenfield reading law, and helping Elijah Alvord, Esq., who then held the offices of Clerk of the Courts and Register of Probate in Franklin County.

On his mother's side he was a Montague, of the Montagues who were among the first settlers of Sunderland, and for whom when the town was first divided the part set off was named. John Montague the first deacon, had two grandsons born in the same year, 1818. One was Henry W. Taft, the other Charles Montague. The latter, when fourteen years of age, was apprenticed to a book-printer in Amherst. The cousins saw each other when young Taft was at the Academy in Amherst. After leaving the Academy, Taft, in connection with the Lyceum at Sunderland, had conducted for a year from March, 1835, a literary journal entitled the "Mysterious Budget". His cousin Montague was not only master of the printer's craft, but was of capacity for business and an ingenious inventor. In those days politics ran high, and the Whigs of Berkshire wished an editor for their organ. It was before the days of railroad communication. Lenox was the county seat, and Southern Berkshire was relatively of more importance than Northern Berkshire. So the Whigs of Berkshire under the leadership of John Z. Goodrich of Stockbridge, sought out the young printer of Amherst and his cousin, the young ex-editor of the "Mysterious Budget", then a law student in Greenfield, where, had he had continued to reside, he

might have become one of those leaders known as the "River Gods", and induced them to "go West", to what recently had been the wilds of Berkshire and at Lenox conduct the newspaper called the Massachusetts Eagle. The printer and the editor then were but nineteen years of age. Mr. Taft continued to be editor through that year and the next, but found time also to pursue his legal studies in the office of Henry W. Bishop. During the presidential campaign of 1840, he again took editorial charge of the paper. In the summer of 1841, he went to West Stockbridge and formed a partnership for the practice of law with Esquire Robbins Kellogg. He was admitted to the bar in October, 1841, and in November of the same year, upon the death of Robbins Kellogg, succeeded to his practice.

Esquire Robbins Kellogg had lived in a handsome stone house, still standing, located in the fork of the roads which lead to Stockbridge and West Stockbridge Center. To the occupancy of this house as well as to its owner's law business, Mr. Taft succeeded. He was made executor of Mr. Kellogg's will, and he argued his first case before the full court in a matter arising out of the settlement of the estate. He had been beaten in the lower court, but the full court said that he was plainly right and decided in his favor. At the same term he argued also another case in which the full court said that his position, though ingenious, could not be maintained. This was an ore-bed case. In those days it was a saying that when a young member of the Berkshire bar was retained on an ore-bed case he could afford to marry. There were deposits of iron ore in and around West Stockbridge, and litigation concerning them was constant. Whether Mr. Taft was retained in many of the cases does not now appear; but, on October 12, 1842, he took to his home a bride from Lenox, Harriet, daughter of Dr. Charles Worthington.

Mr. Taft's father was town clerk of Sunderland for fifty years. Members of his mother's family held the same office. So it was natural for him to become town clerk of West Stockbridge. His father was eight times elected to the legislature, and in 1847 the son went to Boston as the representative from West Stockbridge.

His orderly habits of action are well shown by this story which he told not long ago. Among his early clients was an itinerant peddler whom he defended before Robbins Kellogg as trial justice. Whether the fine or damages took all the peddler's cash, or not, Mr. Taft for his fee of five dollars was compelled to accept in pledge a certain clock which must be wound every fortnight. The peddler never reclaimed the clock, and from the time when it came into Mr. Taft's possession until a few weeks before his death, he wound the clock every fortnight, for more than sixty years. At the beginning of each year he wrote upon a card the dates upon which the clock must be wound during the year and put the card in the clock case, and as he wound the clock drew a pencil through the date.

His cousin, the printer, the real originator of the rotary press, had removed the Whig organ from Lenox to Pittsfield, where it took strong root and is now a daily newspaper. No doubt the young West Stockbridge lawyer, living in the stone house at the fork of the village street with his young wife and with no children to make inroads upon his time, gave much thought to public matters. Never an active political worker, nor a bitter partisan, least of all a wire-puller, he probably sent to his cousin's Eagle occasional well-digested and well-written articles upon the affairs of state and nation. His service in the legislature of 1847 had made him known to the leaders of his party throughout the state, as a man of capacity, to be trusted, and of good material for the public service.

Miss Worthington, whom he had made his wife in 1842, was a daughter of Dr. Charles Worthington, a physician at Lenox, who in 1819, had bought the premises on Walker Street nearly opposite the house occupied by Judge Rockwell, after his return to Lenox. Another daughter was the wife of John Z. Goodrich, who at one time lived in Lenox, and himself was the editor of the Massachusetts Eagle. Dr. Worthington had died in 1840. The Worthington residence had attractions for Mrs. Taft, and life at the county-seat held out to her husband certain advantages in the way of his profession.

In the spring of 1853 he was appointed by Governor Clifford, who, while in attendance upon the full court at Lenox as attorney general, had heard him argue cases in that court, to be register of probate of the county. He then moved to Lenox

and made his home in the Worthington house, acquiring the title in the autumn of that year.

The officers of the probate court are not precluded from practicing as attorneys in other courts. The salary of the register was five hundred and fifty dollars, and Mr. Taft's income from practice at Lenox no doubt was larger than it had been at West Stockbridge. 1853 and 1854 must have been pleasant years for the young Whig lawyer of 33, returned to live in his own house in the legal center of the county, with his office in the court house, with Daniel Dewey as judge of probate, Charles Sedgwick as clerk of the courts, and Henry W. Bishop, upon the common pleas bench spending abundant vacations in Lenox.

But there was in the air something which boded disturbance of the Whig rule. Since 1851 the legislature and the people had been meditating a new constitutional convention.

In March, 1853, the month in which Mr. Taft was made register of probate, the delegates to the constitutional convention were chosen. Their draft of a new constitution was not accepted by popular vote, but the Know-Nothing legislatures of 1854 and 1855 adopted certain amendments which Governor Gardner proclaimed on June 15, 1855, to have been ratified by the people, and under one of which the office of register of probate was made elective. Mr. Taft had refused to join this native American or "Know-Nothing" party, and as a consequence of his loyalty to the Whigs was removed from his office in common with other faithful public servants, and their places given to those who had "seen Sam". For instance, the landlord of the Lenox tavern was made register of deeds in place of George J. Tucker. However, the life of the "Know-Nothing" party was short, although it did place in positions which turned out to be permanent some few men, as in the case of Andrew J. Waterman, who succeeded Mr. Taft as register of probate. Nor was there any long interval before Mr. Taft was again called to the discharge of public office.

From early in the year 1821, the most important office in the county, that of clerk of the courts, had been filled by Charles Sedgwick, son of Theodore Sedgwick and Pamelia Dwight. Among the distinguished men of Berkshire, Theodore Sedgwick easily was the first. His son Charles was one of the most cultivated men of his day, excellent in office, with

humor like Charles Lamb, delightful in conversation, and loved by everybody. The office which he held, when filled by such an incumbent, is one of the utmost importance and usefulness. The justices of the court, the members of the bar, the jurors, parties litigant and witnesses are constantly indebted to such a clerk for very much, both in and out of the actual court sittings. More than any one man his hand guides the administration of justice, and makes it equable. At many times in the course of trials he becomes the central figure in the court room and directs the proceedings. The judge relies upon him for an exact knowledge of practice, and for information as to local habits and customs, and as to the characteristics of the members of the bar. With him often is left the arrangement of the order of trials, and at every turn, without showing favor to any one, he is able to help all. Very often important causes are committed to him for hearing as master, referee, or auditor. It is his duty to enter up judgments without any special oversight on the part of the judge and to award execution. He has great influence with the county commissioners whose records he keeps. He directs from what town jurors shall be summoned, and is the chief figure in the returning board which declares the result of many elections. In a thousand ways a man of dignity, character and ability in this office can make his influence felt. When Mr. Taft was removed from the registry of probate Charles Sedgwick was nearing the end of his work.

Mr. Taft then stood exceedingly well at the bar. He appears by the official reports to have argued the following cases before the full bench of the supreme judicial court sitting at Lenox:

Burrows v. Taft, Exo'r	11 Met. 259	September, 1846
Crittenton v. Alger	11 Met. 283	" 1846
Tracy v. Kilbon	3 Cush. 557	" 1849
Arnold v. Richmond Iron Works	5 Cush. 502	" 1850
Woodworth v. Ranzehousen	7 Cush. 430	" 1851
Parker v. Parker	1 Gray 409	" 1854
Stickles v. Arnold	1 Gray 418	" 1854
Arnold v. Richmond Iron Works	1 Gray 434	" 1854
Clark v. Montague	1 Gray 446	" 1854
McDowell v. Langdon	3 Gray 513	" 1855
Smith v. Johns	3 Gray 517	" 1855
Hollenbeck v. Pixley	3 Gray 521	" 1855
Cheshire Iron Works v. Gay	3 Gray 531	" 1855

Of these thirteen cases he prevailed in all but four. It is plain that upon his return to the county-seat he was in full practice and that his success in his profession was assured.

Mr. Sedgwick at once welcomed Mr. Taft into his own office and from that time relied upon him for assistance. When Mr. Sedgwick died at the close of the year 1855, the justices of the supreme judicial court appointed Mr. Taft to fill the vacancy. He became clerk of the courts on January 1, 1856, and by eight successive elections was continued in the office until January 6, 1897. It is high praise to say of him, as the justices of the courts, the bar and the people do say, that he was as good a clerk as ever has held office in the Commonwealth.

On October 7, 1860, his wife, Harriet Worthington, died. About two years thereafter on October 2, 1862, he married Lucy N. Raymond of Lenox, a most refined and gentle woman, with whom he lived in sweet companionship for very many years.

For the next five years nothing came to change the even tenor of Mr. Taft's life. He was active in church and town affairs and in the social life of Lenox. He showed especial interest in the public library of the town, and in educational matters, being one of the trustees of the Lenox Academy.

His father lived until 1868, and thereafter he took especial care of his widowed mother who survived until 1880. He always had kept a great love for his native town of Sunderland, and as he had the opportunity he worked upon a history of the town, and also compiled the genealogy of its early settlers and their families. He was prominent in the religious, the charitable and the educational work of the county. He was in thorough sympathy with the government during the war of the rebellion, and with the Republican party, although not active in politics. His general worth, his learning and his literary ability came to be recognized so well that in 1859 he was made a Master of Arts by Williams College.

Few men have had the outward setting of their lives in better accord with their tastes and temperament and their ambitions than was Mr. Taft's at Lenox during the period from 1856 to 1868. Then, unexpectedly, came the removal of the county seat to Pittsfield. For many years occasional

efforts to bring about the change had been made, but Lenox, although growing smaller in comparative importance as respected business and amount of population, and also comparatively less easy of access, had been able to keep its rank as the shire town. In 1867 an organized effort to remove the courts to Pittsfield had been defeated signally, and it seemed idle to think of again bringing on the contest. But one wintry morning of the February civil sitting of the court, Shepherd Thayer, then a member of the General Court from North Adams, appeared in the lawyer's room of the court house, and advanced the proposition that if he could have only a small petition from members of the bar he could put through at that session a bill changing the county-seat. He was in charge in the legislature of the interests of the Hoosac tunnel, and was known as a past master in the arts of legislation. No one seemed to take his proposition in earnest and he went away discouraged. But there was a long case on trial, and some members of the bar who were waiting for it to be finished at last said, "Why not take Thayer at his word and send him his petition?" It was done, and on the eighth of June of that year Pittsfield was made the shire town, and the courts ordered to sit there after January 1, 1869.

Mr. Taft, with his unvarying good nature, accommodated himself to the necessity of journeying to Pittsfield in attendance upon court sessions, and upon the completion of the court house in 1871, changed his domicil to the new shire town. He was heartily welcomed to Pittsfield, and with perfect generosity of feeling he at once entered fully into the lift of the town, and continued to work for its best interests while his life lasted. For some years he made his home at the American House. In 1878 he purchased a suitable residence on East Housatonic Street, not far from the home of his friend, James D. Colt, and nearly opposite the home of his friend Robert W. Adam. There with the Tuckers, his friends and relatives by marriage, next to him on one side he lived until last September.

In this home the family consisted of his wife, his sister-in-law, Miss Raymond, and himself. He never had children. A nephew of his first wife was in his office. His near relations by blood were few in number and lived at a distance, so that it was comparatively rare for him to have visitors staying in

his house. He had no horses and no dog. Upon his house lot was a barn in which he kept his gardening tools, and it was a pleasure for him to assist in the care of his garden and grounds. By removing the partition walls on each side of the chimney he had so arranged the rooms on the east side of his hall as to make free communication between them and still have an open wood fire, which he loved. He entertained his neighbors in a refined and gracious way, usually bidding them to supper, after which the evening was devoted to conversation with sometimes a game of whist. He was not much given to making calls save upon a very few intimate friends. Whoever sought him at his home or enticed him to make a neighborly visit, or dropped into his office for a friendly talk, was sure to be charmed and benefitted by his conversation.

Above the medium height and of slender build, always appropriately dressed, he had a certain dignity of appearance, relieved by the quick intelligence of his look, and accompanied by very kind and courteous manners. To see him in the court room, in his office, upon the street on in his home, was to see a man of distinction, on whom the eye rested with pleasure, the thought of whom would remain in the memory, as of one whose presence graced any occasion public or private.

His probity and good judgment, his knowledge of law and of men, his good manners and the fact that his habits and tastes were such that he always could be found at his home or his place of business, and that he was always at his best, early brought him into places of pecuniary trust. He must have filled as many of them as any man who has lived in Berkshire. Going back to his life at West Stockbridge was his connection with the West Stockbridge railroad, of which he was clerk and treasurer from June 14, 1842. His relations to John Z. Goodrich brought him also into the management of the Stockbridge and Pittsfield railroad of which from January 18, 1879, he was a director and from May 3, 1899, was president. From January 12, 1875, he was a director of the Housatonic National bank at Stockbridge. He was a corporator or trustee of the Berkshire County Savings bank. In 1879 he became a director of the Berkshire Life Insurance company, served upon its finance committee from January 20, 1881, and as one of its vice-presidents from February 20, 1892. He was president of

the Third National bank of Pittsfield from its organization on March 26, 1881.

Among many trusts may be mentioned that of the Owen estate of Stockbridge, that of Miss Catherine Peirson of Richmond and of Theodore Pomeroy of Pittsfield.

He received from the justices of the supreme judicial court the high compliment of being chosen as one of the three clerks to whom the court entrusted the responsible task of revising the Rules of Practice.

His literary culture, and his taste for historical, genealogical and antiquarian research, and the extent and accuracy of his information made him sought for membership in learned societies. He joined the Monday Evening Club in 1872. He was one of the trustees of the Berkshire Athenæum, after he removed to Pittsfield, as while in Lenox he was active in the management of the Lenox Library. He was a member of the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society, of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, of the Antiquarian Society of Worcester and of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Most of Mr. Taft's published writings are studies in history and genealogy, subjects on which the expenditure of endless time and thought may have for its only visible result the correction of a date or a name. He was so painstaking and exact, and had such abhorrence of error, that it is little wonder that his finished work was not large in bulk and that finally it had to be given to the world in collaboration with others.

Loving Sunderland, his birthplace, and admiring the early residents who had built there the dwellings which in his boyhood bordered the village street, he began to write the history of the town, and the genealogy of its old families.

Of the history he completed only the first period down to the year 1753. This with materials gathered for the further prosecution of the work was edited by John Montague Smith, and with Mr. Smith's own work is known as the "History of Sunderland", 1673-1899, published at Greenfield in 1899, in a volume which contains also the Genealogical Record and some shorter documents. There is a preface by Mr. Taft, dated October 1, 1899, giving a statement of his connection with the volume. The matter contributed by him seems chiefly to be embraced in the first fifty-one pages, and follows quite closely

the records of the town and other ancient writings. The genealogical record was intended to embrace those persons shown by record, tradition or contemporaneous knowledge to be inhabitants of the town down to about 1840. Mr. Taft's manuscript was edited and added to by Miss Abbie T. Montague, and occupies in the volume of the "History of Sunderland", following the sub-title "Family Genealogies by Henry W. Taft and Abbie T. Montague", pages 245-593, besides a separate genealogical index. The time and thought expended in preparing this genealogy was very great.

In the appendix to the same volume is an article by Mr. Taft entitled "Sunderland Village in 1825-'30", in which he sets down his earliest recollections of the village and of its inhabitants. The fourteen pages of this sketch are of great interest.

Other printed productions of his pen are an "Historical Address" delivered at the dedication of the court house in Pittsfield in 1871, and published in the Berkshire County Eagle of September 14, 1871, and an article upon the "Judicial History of Berkshire", published in Volume I. of the papers of the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society, pp. 89-115.

His papers read to the Monday Evening Club were upon the following subjects:

1871. Rights of Property.
1872. One Hundred Years Ago.
1874. Our National Dangers.
1876. History and Archæology.
1878. Random Thoughts.
1881. The Tories of New England.
1882. Municipal Government.
1884. Domestic Life in New England Sixty Years Ago.
1886. Popular Fallacies.
Also a Memoir of George P. Briggs.

Mr. Robert Rockwell has a file of the Massachusetts Eagle during the first year of Mr. Taft's editorship. Whether he ever contributed to the "Poet's Corner" of that paper is uncertain. He did sometimes write occasional verses, particularly when sitting at his desk in the court room. These effusions were always smoothly written and were alive with a delicious humor.

It is interesting to dwell for a little upon the editorial work of the youth not yet twenty-one. Martin Van Buren was then President. The Whigs had long been out and were anxious to return to power. Webster, Clay and Harrison were their leaders in national politics. Edward Everett was Whig Governor of Massachusetts and Judge Marcus Morton the perennial candidate of the Democrats. George N. Briggs was the Berkshire Representative in Congress, and Henry W. Bishop the candidate who expected to defeat him at the election. The Democratic organ was the Pittsfield Sun, published at Pittsfield. The Eagle was an organ, expected in every issue to show sound reasons why its party should be successful in nation, state and county, one class of such reasons being the heresies of its opponents and their misdeeds. Private virtues might be conceded to a political opponent, but even ingenuous candor must be able to find his political acts justly censurable.

The country was in the midst of the depression following the financial crisis of 1837, attributed by the Whigs to the action of the Democratic National Executive. The Hudson and Berkshire railroad was opened from West Stockbridge to Hudson, and the deep cut at Washington summit still delayed the opening of the Western railroad. The public mind was much divided over the temperance issue, the majority swinging towards license. The raising of silk, it was hoped, was the road to wealth.

The commencement at Williams College was still held in August, and on August 15, 1838, were graduating James D. Colt of Pittsfield with an oration on "Uniformity as Exhibited in Matter and in Mind", and with the valedictory, John Wells of Rowe, with an oration on the "Influence of Skepticism on Human Happiness".

We were having an Indian war in Florida and there were troubles threatening a rupture with Great Britain over the North-eastern Boundary question.

An examination of the files of the Eagle for a year from August 23, 1838, shows that the editor never was bitter, as bitterness then was counted, or sophomorical. Neither then nor ever was he a poseur. None of his editorials were long. In style and manner and general tone perhaps they bear a resemblance to those of the Springfield Republican which had been

established in 1824. Two of the longest are on "Party Politics" in the issue of April 11, 1839, and on "The Presidency" on July 25, 1839. The general tone of the first was in deprecation of the extent to which party feeling then was carried. It says "It is deeply to be regretted that political contests cannot be conducted with more fairness and decency * * * Neither of the two great parties into which the country is divided are in all things perfect. The success of the Whigs (and it is their own fault if they are not successful) we believe essential to our national prosperity, but we do not deny that their measures may be sometimes wrong. As their principles are correct their practice should be rendered more perfect. If the present National Administration, or the men who compose it, were once honest, the possession of power has rendered them corrupt; but in their exertions for their removal, and for the elevation of better men to office, their opposers should remember that the end does not sanctify the means". The article on the Presidency begins by saying, "The success of the Whig party at the next presidential election, and consequently as we believe the prosperity and well being of the country depend upon the union of the Whigs themselves". He then points out that the hope of the Democrats is in inciting dissensions among the Whigs. "By universal consent the claims of all other candidates have given way before the peculiar fitness or availability of three eminent individuals—Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, William H. Harrison". The merits of each of the three are truly and forcibly shown. The friends of each are entreated not to endeavor to impeach the character or impugn the motives of the other candidates * * * All preference and all prejudice should be lost in the noble sentiment, 'The union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union'". A short one on August 1, 1839, is this: "Rotation in office is declared by the administration party to be essential to preserve the purity of government, to prevent men from becoming corrupt by the long possession of power. We believe that it is so, and indeed the conduct of the leaders of that party is sufficient evidence of the truth of the doctrine. They all believe in it and exemplify their faith by their haste to get out of one office into another and more lucrative. Martin Van Buren has been in office thirty years and received $150,000 for his services. Poin-

sett has been in office as long; so has Paulding and others of the Cabinet and National Legislature. The patient candidate for Governor in this Commonwealth has held office during most of the time that he has been upon the stage, and for fifteen years has labored for a seat in the gubernatorial chair. It is well for the Democratic party that their doctrines are enforced by such distinguished living examples."

Writing of a candidate for Congress: "Against Mr. B. as a man we have nothing to say; we respect him for his talents and esteem him for his many virtues, and had he never swerved from the path of political rectitude we would gladly see him a member of our National Legislature * * * Commanding talents and good moral character are not lightly esteemed by an intelligent and virtuous community. But the Whigs cannot contribute to the election of any one to an office of such responsibility who, besides possessing these qualifications, does not evince a strong and settled attachment to measures authorized by the Constitution, and which experience has pronounced eligible and safe, as contra-distinguished from the long series of unsuccessful 'Experiments' and 'untried expedients' ".

Aside from politics his editorial pen sometimes philosophized: "Modest merit is ever thrown in the shade by busy, bustling assurance, and though one coxcomb may be soon unmasked people will smile just as sweetly on another. To go through life prosperously a man must have sharp elbows and without any compunctions of conscience give a 'dig in the ribs' to everyone who impeded his progress. He has a right to his just share of the highway of this world, and if he lacks the courage and self confidence to claim and support it, he will most assuredly be thrust out of the path and forced to wander among the bogs and briers. If a man will not act for himself, his brother man however kind and benevolent will not take the trouble to carve out his fortune. He must act. If he possesses talents he must use them, and they may at the same time contribute to his own advancement and to the general happiness of mankind."

A little inclination to look upon the dark side is found in this of April 4, 1839: "The warm sun that brings seed time and harvest has returned again! The weather for the last two

weeks has been most delightfully warm and pleasant. March gave us but few snow storms, and left us with a face of sunshine, and April has come in, all smiles and graces. The spring of 1839 is some ten days earlier than that of 1838. The snow is all gone, the trees are beginning to put forth their leaves, and the air is filled with the music of the 'sweet songsters of the grove'. We fear that the prospect is too fair to continue long unchanged, and that May will find us shivering beneath a cold wind and a cloudy sky".

These anticipations, however, seem not to have been realized, for early in May he made a visit to Sunderland, returning through Goshen, Cummington, Windsor, Dalton and Pittsfield, and writing an editorial note criticising the bad roads of those towns.

On May 23, appears this apology: "Our readers are requested to regard us this week with peculiar favor, and not to frown despitefully upon us if our columns be found uncommonly dull and devoid of interest. It is hardly possible to restrain one's self from wandering abroad beneath the warm sun, and to breath the bland air of spring; or if by dint of effort the body is chained down to its every day occupations, the mind *will* wander in spite of the firmest resolves, and the most strenuous exertions to preserve them unbroken. How then can it be expected of us that we should search for items of interest in papers which contain no news, and above all that we should give to the world any of our own poor thoughts, when they are all 'away to the ends of the earth'. We had thought this week to have spoken at some length of the politics of our country and State, but it is impossible to make the requisite exertion. And indeed it does seem that it would be an unholy deed to aid in party contests, when Nature smiles so sweetly upon all, and promises to all that without distinction of party 'the earth shall yield her increase'. Away then for a time with politics, with science, with philosophy—a short indulgence in the sweet intoxication of the season, joyous in the present, will not be bitter in the future".

He urged a national celebration of Independence day and later described and commended a celebration which his editorial seems to have brought on at Lenox. Besides pleading for good roads there are editorials advocating village improve-

ments. The poet's corner is always well filled, and possibly sometimes from the Editor's own pen.

Comparing these editorials of 1838 and 1839 with his historical address of 1871 there is noticeable improvement, although the general style of writing is unchanged. After thirty years of active work in the county he said of it: "In the light of these lovely autumn days we may be pardoned in the thought and the expression that ours is the fairest as well as the youngest portion of our ancient Commonwealth. As we look upon our mountains in their grandeur and strength, our valleys in their cultivated beauty, we feel in our hearts that 'the lines are fallen unto us in pleasant places and ours is a goodly heritage'. Nor do we who remain in the old homesteads alone regard them with sentiments of veneration and love. The county of Berkshire in all her history has so contributed to the colonization of the great western wilderness that she may not inappropriately be called the Mother of Nations. Go where you will through Western and Southern New York, along the Great Lakes, and on all the broad prairies of the West, and you will continually find the old Berkshire names reproduced in towns and villages. And the men you meet, if they learn your origin, will clasp your hand in brotherly affection, with hearts full of respect and tenderness for the old homes which they remember, or of which their fathers have told them, and you will find them everywhere among the foremost in founding and maintaining those institutions and enterprises which give life and vigor to our land. They may justly claim of us that we maintain in their purity and strength at home the institutions which our common ancestors have builded".

Here are his first letter, written when but a little over nine years of age, and two of his later occasional poems:

Sunderland, Jan. 23, 1828.

Dear Papa:—

I now for the first time in my life take my pen to see if I can write a few lines to my Papa, knowing that he will be pleased and overlook all imperfections, for I should not dare to write to anybody else. Our school is doing well. I think I learn something every day. Miss Tenney wishes me to commit a piece to memory to speak the last day. I do not like to very well but Mama thinks I had bet-

ter try, and I think I shall. We hear from Papa often. Mr. Root told me yesterday that he had heard from Pa twice and he had not the hypo yet, which pleased us very much. I should like a new history to study the next quarter. Mama will write about it in her letter. We have a little bossy at the barn three days old and I expect by next week to have as much milk as I want to drink. We have all been vaccinated; my arm is quite sore to-day. I have learned my piece so that I can speak it very well. Please to give my love to all that enquire after me.

I am your dutiful son,

HENRY W. TAFT.

These verses were sent with a gift of maple sugar to a neighbor:

"Sweets to the sweet", a golden rule,
Whose fitness all our hearts approve;
Ordained by no pedantic school,
But fibred in the law of love.

But to my sweet I cannot bring
Poetic fancies, rich and rare,
Or blossoms of the early spring
To fill with fragrance all the air.

I cannot point you to the page
Now growing daily in its length,
And show by records brave or sage
The sweetness which abides in strength.

So I come down to common things,
Do they not make the most of life
And stay when fancy plumes its wings,
And soars away from pain and strife?

Take then my gift, for it is sweet,
As in the days of long ago,
Within the rule the gift is meet,
And all the years will find it so.

These lines were sent with a gift of cucumbers to his neighbor across the way, Robert W. Adam:

The primal Adam ran a garden farm,
So doth the ancient chronicle affirm,
And when he named each fruit and flower and tree,
Cucumber was the name he gave to me.

Adam, Lamesh, Methusaleh and Seth
Were none of them cut off by early death;
And yet as they were careful, wise and good,
Cucumbers must have been their daily food.
And in that fruitful, Oriental clime,
Cucumbers were in season all the time.

But modern science in its wise conceit,
Crammed full of knowledge as an egg with meat
About bacilli, microbes, germs and such,
Has grown to dictate and condemn too much;
Has taught the world to look on me with dread,
And put the ban, unwholesome, on my head.

Across the street, neglected and despised,
I go to where I am more highly prized.
So to the later Adam's peaceful home,
Content in hope, and fraught with joy serene,
Glad to meet one devoid of fancied fears,
And help him reach the early Adam's years.

Mr. Taft had a religious nature. The history of his family, and many letters which he kept in connection with his genealogical researches, show that he came by this tendency of mind by inheritance, as he also came in the same way by his clerkly habits and his fondness for historical and antiquarian research. The office of deacon, which he filled both at Lenox and at Pittsfield, was one borne also by many of his ancestors. No more faithful or useful member of church and parish has been known in this community.

He had few amusements. He would join pleasant and congenial company in some excursion. Probably he never discharged a firearm at wild game. Only once is there record of his going a fishing in Berkshire, and then it needed Clerk Wilde of the Supreme Judicial Court for the Commonwealth, Charles Sedgwick, Judge Henry W. Bishop, and Mr. George J. Tucker to induce him to join in Isaac Walton's sport.

He was a collector of autographs, and has left of them two interesting and valuable volumes. One is devoted especially to autographs of justices of the courts and of members of the bar. The other, to those of people of note in all walks of life. Aside from autographs and books, he was not much of a collector, and even could give away so precious a relic as a cane made from the wood of the John Hancock house.

By nature and training Mr. Taft was careful and prudent in the expenditure of money. But his frugality was not stinginess. He met the calls of family, of society, of religion and of charity upon his purse as became a Christian gentleman to whom much had been given and who knew that his obligations as such required of him much.

His frugality and his financial ability and experience enabled him, without ever having been in the receipt of a great income, or been enriched by speculations, to acquire a competency and to leave behind him a handsome estate, which, by his will he distributed between his heir, the heirs of his first and second wives, his friends, and in benevolent and charitable bequests.

He never was ambitious for political distinction. There was a period of years when he would gladly have accepted an appointment to the bench, even at the sacrifice of his quiet home life. He was in truth well fitted for judicial work, and this fitness was admitted by the bar of the county and conceded by the appointing power. On several occasions the bar requested his appointment and it was for reasons of locality alone that it was not made.

One proof of the genuine sweetness of his character was the manner in which, after his own opportunity had passed, he met and helped others who had been more fortunate.

In a memoir to be read to friends one ought not to conceal weakness or defects if they were present.

If a little inclination at times to somewhat of despondency is a fault, he may have had such tendencies. But they never mastered him for long, and never took from him the wish or the power to help his fellow men.

Mr. Taft never was much given to travel. Probably his longest absence from home was when in attendance upon the legislature in 1847. As his voyage of expatriation, when he left Sunderland at the age of nineteen and "went West" was only to Berkshire, not more than a day's journey, so he ever after remained quite closely at home. He went occasionally for the day to Stockbridge. From 1876 to 1893, he was a trustee of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton, and in attendance upon the meetings of the board made rather infrequent excursions into his native valley. In the summer of 1884

he spent some little time at North Scituate beach and went cod fishing on some of the near-by banks.

On one occasion during the later days of the Tremont House, he was induced to use passes which were sent him yearly as a railroad official and go to Boston for several days. He had an apartment over the ladies' parlor, looking toward the Park Street Church across the Granary Burial ground. His breakfasts and dinners were served in his own parlor and at dinner he entertained several guests. Although it was evident that he enjoyed the outing, he never repeated it, nor could he be induced to leave home for the meetings of the Massachusetts Historical Society or of the Worcester Antiquarian Society. Perhaps his longest journey was one taken with Lieut. Governor Weston and Mr. Hull at the instance of the latter, through North and South Carolina, just after the Charleston earthquake. The trip was a pleasant one, but his companions noticed in Mr. Taft a little tendency to depression, which when Charleston with its shattered buildings was reached almost amounted to despondency. In the evening this feeling heightened by the sight of the cracked walls and ceilings of the hotel sent Mr. Taft very early to his room. His friends, at a formal council, determined that a stimulant must be administered. A colored waiter was sent to Mr. Taft's room to see that he did not refuse it. The report was that the "Judge" had taken the decoction, and then was on his knees saying his prayers, so that the waiter had no doubt he would pass a good night. In both eating and drinking Mr. Taft was not merely temperate but abstemious.

From the opening of his home on East Housatonic Street in 1878, until the close of 1897, Mr. Taft's life in Pittsfield was very even and regular. Week-day time could be counted by his walks between his house and the court house.

If one ever saw him in the street at a very early hour, it must have been either when returning from a smoke talk of the Monday Evening Club on a Tuesday morning, or going to or returning from the sunrise prayer meeting at the First Church on New Year's day. But his attendance upon every duty was absolutely faithful and regular, and year by year he grew more and more into the loving respect and esteem of all the inhabitants of the county.

A little tendency to weakness of digestion and a liability to repeated attacks of a spasmodic cough, when he was nearing his eightieth year and the close of his eighth successive period of service as clerk of the courts by choice of the electors, made him conclude to relinquish that office. He communicated this determination to the public through a letter to the Editor of the Eagle, dated September 7, 1896. Unavailing efforts were made by some of his friends to induce him to accept the office for another term, but his service in it ended on January 6, 1897. Upon that occasion the bar of the county in a most appreciative and tenderly worded address drafted by Hon. Marshall Wilcox, requested that he sit for the portrait, which now hangs over the Judge's desk in the court house.

After his retirement from the clerkship he had still more than seven years of useful life. His presidency of the bank, his connection with the Life Insurance company, with the bank at Stockbridge and with his railroad corporations kept him in touch with men and affairs. The charm of his home remained until the death of his wife's sister and of his wife.

Miss Raymond died in March, 1903, and Mrs. Taft survived her only until January 26, 1904. Then he was indeed alone. An affection of the eyes took from him the resource of reading. It is pathetic to think of him living on in the home from which the cheer of loved companionship had gone, and writing with his own hand the will which should distribute, but not among children or descendants of his own, the things grown dear by use and ownership. Kind and attentive neighbors and friends did what was possible to cheer the last days of the old gentleman waiting with faith and hope for his release "to the sweet freedom of eternity". The end came in the beautiful days of autumn, on September 22, 1904.

For no man in Berkshire have the expressions of regret and of appreciation been more general and hearty. Of them all, as was fitting the most impressive was the memorial meeting of the bar at which Mr. Justice Aiken presided, and Hon. Marshall Wilcox introduced the exercises which were replete with feeling and full of expressions of love and esteem.

After a funeral at his late home he was laid to rest in the churchyard at Lenox on September 24, 1904.

The Geological History of Mount Greylock.

By Prof. T. NELSON DALE,
of the United States Geological Survey.

THE GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF MOUNT GREYLOCK*.

Since the publication of the late Professor J. D. Dana's paper on Berkshire Geology by this society in 1886, a great amount of geological exploration has been done not only in this county, but in the adjacent counties of New York and Vermont. This work has been done almost entirely by the geologists of the United States Geological Survey, either in the preparation of the geological map or of works accessory to it. While in the main the results of these explorations have not radically altered the views put forth in that paper, yet our knowledge of these mountains has by them become very much fuller and more precise. The forms of the surface have been carefully mapped, the boundaries of the geological formations have been traced, the structure of the masses has been studied and their constituent rocks have been subjected to microscopic examination.

In a monograph on the Geology of the Green Mountains in Massachusetts by Professors Pumpelly, Wolff and myself, published by the United States Geological Survey in 1894, my task was to describe Mount Greylock, but the report confined itself strictly to the areal and structural geology of the mountain. It is proposed in this paper to take up the subject where the monograph left it and to consider the historical geology of Greylock, utilizing for this purpose not only the material of the monograph but such observations as have been made from time to time since its publication.

When we undertake to decipher the history of a mountain we are undertaking a more difficult and delicate task than that of delineating the materials of its surface or of prognosticating its internal structure; and this is particularly true of a mountain

*Read before the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society at Pittsfield, Feb. 8th, 1900, and published with the permission of the Director of the U. S. Geological Survey.

in a region where, through the lapse of ages so much has happened as in this one. We should proceed cautiously and distinguish between facts, probabilities and mere possibilities

1. The Cambrian Transgression.

The oldest rock which crops out in the Greylock mass is the Lower Cambrian quartzite which forms an inconspicuous ledge in the Hopper brook near the Hopper school house. While obscure in situation this rock signifies much. It is the representative of a great formation of sand and beach pebbles which, in its present metamorphic state, measures from 800 to 1,500 feet in thickness, bordering the western flank of the Green Mountain range for many miles, and which underlies Mount Greylock and reappears in the great cliffs on both sides of Monument Mountain. Wherever this formation is found in its original relations to the underlying gneisses of the Algonkian or Archean it marks the advance of the ocean over a rock surface which had already been subjected to atmospheric erosion. This is what geologists mean by the term "transgression." Thus in pre-Cambrian time we had here a land surface. The character of that ancient land surface can be studied on the Green Mountain range. One of the more interesting things brought out by recent investigations is the probability that the *original trend* of the foliation of these older rocks was about at right angles to the course of the Green Mountain and Taconic ranges. In most places, however, later earth movements have obliterated this original foliation. Upon this probability rests the possibility that whatever hills existed in this region in pre-Cambrian time had their main axes running W. N. W.—E. S. E. The quartzite or metamorphic sandstone and the conglomerate, which is usually associated with it, are the products of the erosion of this pre-Cambrian land surface.

Some of this, as suggested by Professor Pumpelly,* may well have been the decomposed rock of the surface which the advancing sea covered; but the bulk of it must have been brought into that sea from the still unsubmerged gneiss masses by the erosive action of streams and waves. The source of

*U. S. G. S. Monograph xxiii. pp. 26, 27.

the material of this Lower Cambrian quartzite, and of the mica schist sometimes associated with it, is well shown by the pebbles of blue opalescent quartz which so largely make up the beds of conglomerate which occur in both. Such a bed of conglomerate occurs on the eastern side of Stone hill in Williamstown. This blue quartz is a common constituent of the pre-Cambrian granites and gneisses of the Green Mountain range.

Although there is no doubt as to the source of these Cambrian deposits it is as yet impossible to reconstruct the shores of this Cambrian sea for the reason that we are unable to distinguish those portions of the Green Mountain range which were never submerged from those which have been denuded of Cambrian sediments. But from the size of the pebbles, which on Hoosac Mountain measure several inches in diameter and on Stone Hill up to two inches, it is evident that at no great distance from where Greylock now is there was land in Cambrian time. From that shore the ocean probably stretched westward to the Rocky Mountains and northward to the St. Lawrence, portions of the Adirondacks probably being then above water.

2. The Cambro-Ordovician Calcareous Sedimentation.

Overlying the Lower Cambrian quartzite is the great calcareous formation known as the Stockbridge Limestone—so named from the old West Stockbridge marble quarries—which measures from 1,000 to 1,400 feet in thickness and extends from Dutchess County, New York, to the marble regions of Vermont. This constitutes the base of Greylock on all sides. The only fossils found in it about the mountain, thus far, are fragments of gasteropods at the mouth of the Hopper and crinoid stems on Quarry hill at New Ashford. How far purely chemical processes may have been concerned in the deposition of this great mass of limestone cannot be determined but it is safe to assume that it is chiefly of organic origin, and mainly represents the lime extracted from the Cambro-Ordovician (Lower Silurian) ocean by corals, crinoids, molluscs and brachiopods during a time when the streams brought into this sea very little sand or clay, and this calcareous deposit does not seem to have been here a deep water formation.

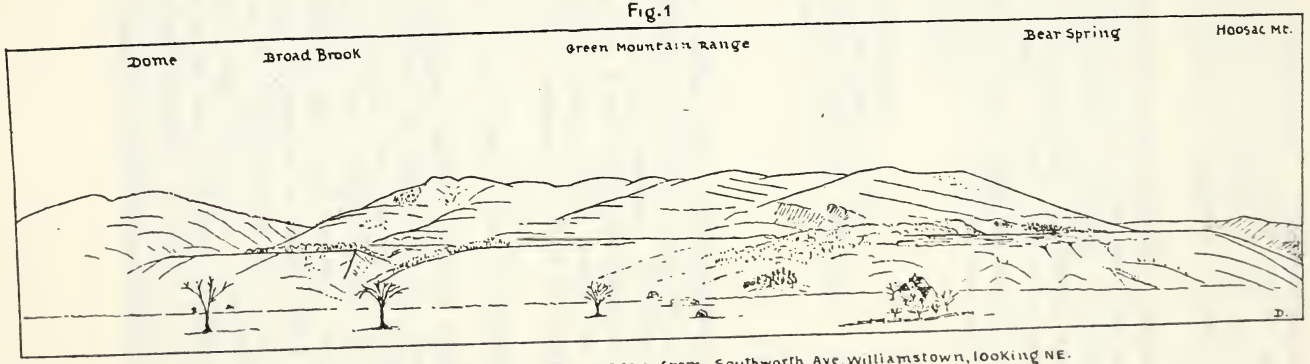
If we turn to recent speculative calculations of the time required for the formation of sediments a thousand feet thick we find that conservative estimates range from 437,000 to 730,000 years. A coral reef would require 192,000 years to grow 1,000 feet vertically if such an amount of growth were possible. We may content ourselves, however, with the statement that the very physiological and chemical processes involved in the extraction and deposition of such a mass of calcium carbonate from sea water, which out of three and a half per cent. of solids contains only about four per cent. *of them* in calcium carbonate and sulphate, combined, must indeed have been long.

3. The Ordovician (Lower Silurian) Argillaceous Sedimentation.

During the latter part of Trenton time calcareous sedimentation stopped and clayey deposits took their place. At some localities the transition from lime to clay was gradual. The limestone becomes more and more agillaceous and carbonaceous before being replaced by purely agillaceous rocks, but generally the change is abrupt so that within a hand's breadth of rock it can be seen that the lime ceased and the clay began; indeed a hand specimen could be obtained with both formations represented in it. This sudden change in the sediments over so great an area as the entire Taconic range is not easily accounted for. We may suppose an elevation of the land masses on the east sufficient to increase the erosive power of the streams and thus effect a greater discharge of mechanical sediments into the sea. The clay would muddy the water and render it unsuitable for lime extracting organisms.

The sediments of this time were not uniformly argillaceous. After the deposition of the lower schists, "Berkshire schist," which measure about 1,000 feet, calcareous sedimentation recurred, forming the impure limestone of the Notch and of the pastures between Round's Rock and Saddle Ball, but the duration of this was much shorter than that of the great marble formation. The deposit appears to have been local and variable in character for calcareous sediments alternate with sandy ones and both pass into argillaceous ones. This formation was named after the Bellows pipe, where it was first

Fig. 1



Glacial Lake Terrace as seen from Southworth Ave, Williamstown, looking NE.

studied and is best exposed. Argillaceous sedimentation was resumed in the upper (Greylock schist) which equalled or exceeded the lower in thickness so that in all we have about 2,000 feet of argillaceous deposits overlying the Stockbridge Limestone.

Although no great value should be ascribed to calculations of geological time, yet it may be well to note that the rate of deposition of mechanical sediments is probably greater than the formation of organic ones. In Dana's text-books it is given as five times greater. Taking the average of the two rates given for limestone and supposing the schist and quartzite to have been deposited at a rate five times as rapid we reach the following estimates:

Schist, 2,000 feet,	233,200 years
*Upper Limestone, 600 feet,	69,960 years
Stockbridge Limestone, 1,000 feet,	583,000 years
Quartzite, 1,000 feet,	116,600 years
	1,002,760 years

This one million years would represent not the age of Mount Greylock, but the time required for the deposition of the material of which it consists. As these sediments cover all of Cambrian and Lower Silurian time for which some calculators of geologic time allow nearly ten million years, the estimate, as such estimates go, is a very modest one.

4. The Post-Ordovician Orogenic Movement.

Some geologists suppose that the accumulation of such a mass of sediments as makes up the Greylock mass would necessarily be accompanied by a gradual depression of the sea floor. Owing to the metamorphism of the sediments the strata themselves can yield no such evidence of continuous shallow water deposition as some series of rocks afford in ripple marks, etc. Had the sea been a mile deep the sediments would have nearly filled it up. If subsidence kept pace with sedimentation the sea must have continued of uniform depth during the entire period. It ought to be noted here that the

*On account of its impurity estimated at same rate as the schist.

original mass of sediments must have been thicker than the present height of Greylock indicates, for the topmost layers have certainly been removed and the sediments which now form the summit must have obtained their crystalline character under a certain amount of vertical as well as lateral pressure. It is, however, impossible to estimate the original height of the mountain. Another point of interest is that the entire mass of mechanical sediments, i. e., about 3,000 feet, is the measure of the erosion of the pre-Cambrian land mass which took place during Cambrian and Ordovician time. In order to get some idea of the original altitude of this ancient land mass we should add 3,000 feet to the height of those parts of the Green Mountain range which were then above water.

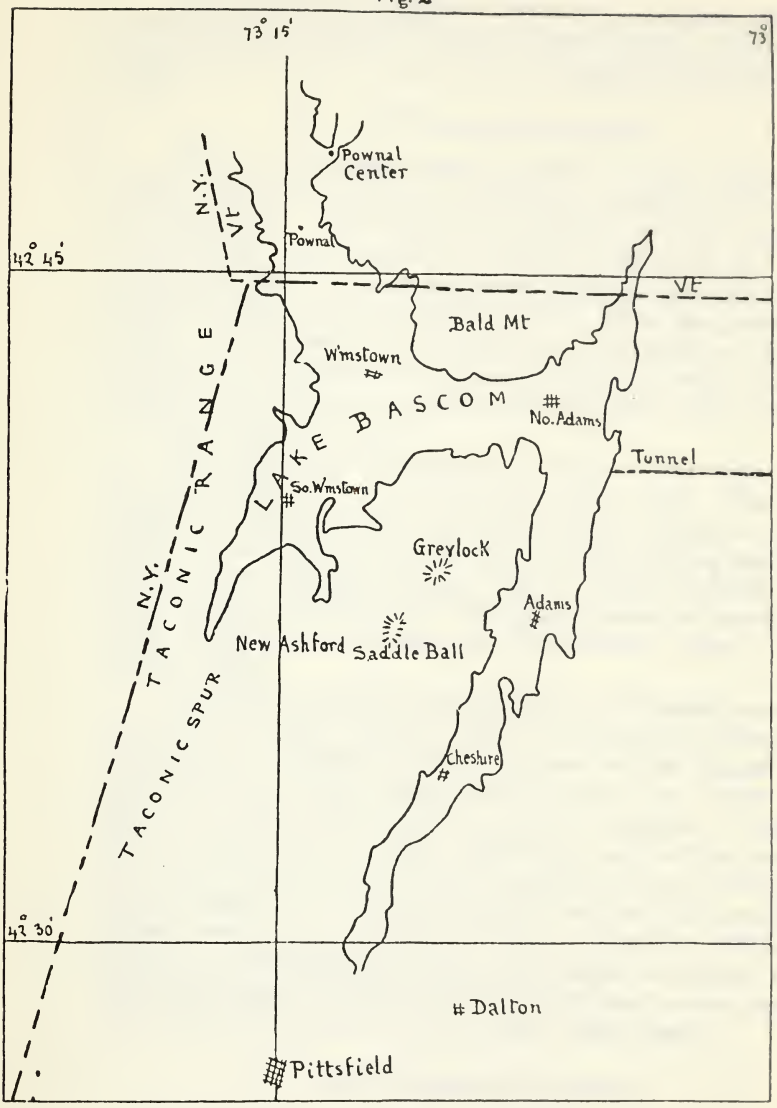
Owing to the contraction of the earth's crust the entire mass of sediments and, to some extent, of the underlying pre-Cambrian floor was corrugated and elevated at the close of Ordovician time. The axes of the folds, thus formed, ran generally N. N. E.—S. S. E. and gave rise to the Green Mountain and Taconic ranges. The sea retreated westward to about the longitude of the Hudson. The form which emerged must have been greatly different from the present outline of the mountain. This form generally was the converse of the present one. The Notch was a ridge, Greylock and Ragged Mountain were hollows. Although popularly such movements appear catastrophic they probably took place very gradually. The change was not confined to the forms of the surface and the relations of sea and land, but affected every particle of the mountain as well as of the adjacent masses. Silicification took place in the sandy sediments, marmarosis in the calcareous sediments and micazization in the argillaceous ones, giving us quartzite, marble and mica schist for sand, lime and clay. The movement continued after these changes, and the newly formed mica was microscopically folded and faulted, resulting in a cleavage foliation. Veins and joints and faults were formed. Of course these processes destroyed nearly all traces of organisms which the sediments may have up to that time preserved. One of the most interesting effects of this movement is the fault which traverses the spur on the southern side of the Hopper and runs northerly back of the Hopper school quartzite, then reappears on Mason hill in Vermont, where the Cam-

brian quartzite is thrust over the originally overlying limestone and schist with a vertical displacement of 1,500 feet. The temperature of the Sand-spring, which lies on the line of this fault, may possibly be due to surface water passing down the fault plane and becoming heated by the rocks at a depth of 1,500 feet. Its temperature figured by the usual formula requires a depth about equal to the displacement required by the structure of Mason Hill. There are also obscure traces of still later movements in the mass of Greylock, not to speak of the later general elevation of the entire region which geologists estimate as having amounted to about 2,000 feet and place in Cretaceous time.

5. The Period of Erosion.

Perhaps the most remarkable chapter in the history of the mountain is the unwritten one—the one written only in negative evidence. As soon as the mountain and the adjacent region arose from the sea it became subject to atmospheric erosion, and this continued during a period which represents no small part of geologic time: the Upper Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, Jura-Trias, Cretaceous and Tertiary. These periods have been estimated in all as one and three-fourths as long as the Cambrian and Ordovician together. We shall get a better idea of the duration of these periods of erosion by studying their effect upon our mountain than by numerical estimates. If the published sections of Greylock are compared with the contours of the surface it will be observed that a vast amount of denudation has taken place. This is particularly noticeable in reconstructing the anticline (arch fold) of the Notch. From the entrance to the Hopper alone there has been removed a pyramid of rock one mile square at the base and 1,500 feet high. The mass of Greylock must once have been continuous with the Taconic range west of it, that is, the Williamstown and Hancock Valley must once have been covered by the schist formation. In some cross sections the amount of material removed by erosion would be sufficient to make a mountain range. There were two long processes involved, the one constructive the other destructive. To the second one the mountain owes its varied surface features as much as a ruin owes its beauty to the "ravages of time."

Fig. 2



GLACIAL LAKE IN NW. MASS.

1 2 3 Miles

DALE

This chapter also suggests that there must have lived on the mountain successive floræ and faunæ typical of those different ages of which, however, not a vestige has been preserved to us.

6. The Period of Glaciation.

Then in Quaternary time the polar ice cap crept southward over New England and filled our valleys and covered our mountains. The motion of the glacier, at least during its later history, was N.40°W. to S.40°E. as shown by the striæ at the summit. The same motion brought the great Richmond boulder from the Knob in Canaan, N. Y. From the position of many of the quartzite boulders about the northern part of Greylock in relation to the outcrops of the quartzite itself in Vermont it is evident that there must also have been a glacial current almost due south.

The great talus of schist at the foot of the steep slope east of the summit may be partly of glacial origin. The huge blocks are primarily due to the intersection of three sets of planes in the schist of the top—low westerly dipping bedding, steep easterly dipping cleavage, and a vertical jointing running roughly east and west. The large deposits of gravel and small boulders near Adams and about North Adams are of glacial origin.

Exactly how much of the dissection of Greylock occurred in pre-Glacial time and how much in Glacial time cannot be determined. Although the erosive power of the Glacier was considerable the time during which it acted was vastly less than that during which the less powerful agencies of atmospheric erosion were at work. Moreover some of the ravines lie in such direction as to show that they are not directly of Glacial origin. It is highly probable that the chief work of erosion was done in pre-Glacial time. That the effects of erosion in post-Glacial time have been slight is evident from the preservation of Glacial striæ in such a place as the summit for a period estimated at not less than 10,000 years.

7. The Quarternary Lake.

One of the striking features of Greylock is the terrace which skirts its northern end at an elevation of about 1,080

feet above sea level and about 420 feet above the Hoosic river at Braytonville. A small sand quarry on the terrace shows that its upper part consists of gravelly beds dipping away from the mountain capped by a horizontal bed of similar material a few inches thick. The inclined beds were made of material brought down by streams along the edge of a sheet of water and the horizontal bed was deposited upon the others as the water became shallower and the current less rapid. This terrace can be traced off and on along the western side of Mount Prospect to the Hopper. Even more striking is the corresponding terrace on that part of the Green Mountain range just north of Greylock known as Oak Hill, Bald Mountain or East Mountain. The bulk of this great terrace is glacial drift containing here and there good sized quartzite boulders. Its level portions are fine sand. It extends off and on eastward to near Houghtonville, forms the level surface through which the North branch of the Hoosic has carved its course, and, on the western side of the Bald mountain spur, can be traced across Broad Brook. This portion of it is conspicuous in the winter landscape when its outline is finely brought out by the snow. (Fig. 1). Its hghest point is about 1,150 feet above sea level and 550 feet above the railroad station at Williamstown. Prof. John Bascom found it again on the Taconic range opposite Pownal on a spur between two hollows, where it consisted of smooth gravel. President Edward Hitchcock in his Illustrations of Surface Geology* also refers briefly to what he calls "moraine terraces" high up along the western foot of Hoosac Mountain.

The significance of these terraces is that after the glacial invasion the Greylock mass was surrounded on three sides by a sheet of water the shore lines of which are shown by the terraces (See Fig. 2). How far northward this glacial lake extended is not yet determined, but similar terraces occur in the Vermont Valley in Shaftsbury and Manchester between the 1,000 and 1,100 foot contours. There may have been a connection between the two sheets of water at Pownal Center, where the divide between the Hoosic and Bennington Valleys is on the 986 foot contour. In any case in order to account for the damming in of this lake or these lakes from the low-lands

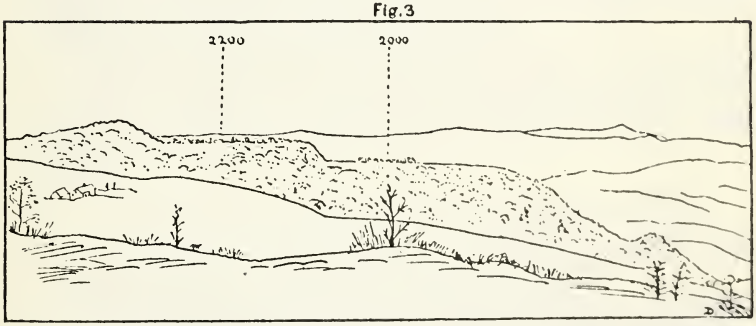
*Second edit. Amherst, 1860.

of the Hoosic and Hudson Valleys we must assume the existence of a mass of ice somewhere between North Pownal and Petersburg Junction and also a much larger one between Mount Anthony and the northern continuation of the Taconic range in Shaftsbury. If the ice sheet retreated in a northwesterly direction that fact and the surface contours about Greylock Mountain would account for the lake. At times parts of the lake area itself may have been occupied by remnants of the glacier.

The post-glacial depression of the Lake Champlain region which brought in the Atlantic again from the St. Lawrence to form shell deposits 370 feet above the present shore of that lake at its southern end was probably subsequent to the drainage of these glacial lakes. This depression was found to measure 335 feet at Albany. A depression of 400 feet about the Hoosic would not have admitted the sea east or southeast of Hoosic Falls.

But there are yet other terraces on Greylock to be accounted for. From a point east of Rounds' rock looking towards Cheshire two terraces appear along the spur east of Kitchen brook at altitudes of 2,000 and 2,200 feet (See Fig. 3). These

Fig. 3



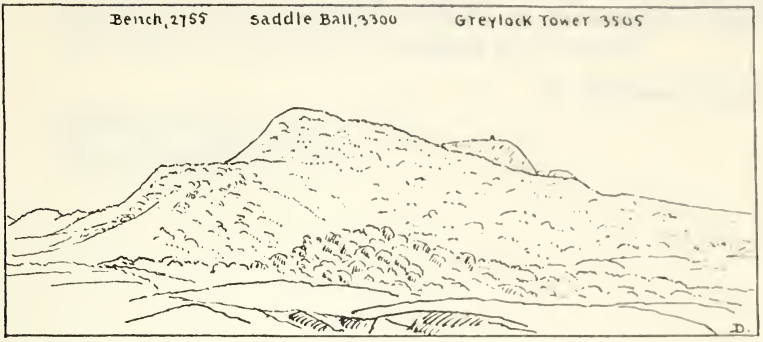
The Terraces on the spur east of Kitchen Brook, taken from Knoll south of Rounds Rock. In the distance the Hoosac "Peneplain".

may well have been formed by marginal glacial lakes and would, of course, antedate the lower terraces first described.

There is also a very problematical bench or terrace on the western side of Saddle Ball (See Fig. 4).* Its altitude is

*This is also shown as seen from the west in Monograph xxiii., U. S. G. S., pl. xiv.

Fig. 4



From Rounds Rock, looking north.

2,755 feet, i. e., 750 feet below the top of Greylock and 1,755 feet above Pittsfield. Its width is not far from 750 feet.

Elevated glacial lakes are not uncommon. Prof. C. H. Hitchcock in January, 1895, read a paper before the Geological Society of America on a glacial lake near Lake Memphremagog with terraces at 1,000 and 1,500 feet above sea level. Prof. B. K. Emerson in the Holyoke Folio (U. S. G. S.) gives a glacial lake in the northwestern part of Hampshire county in this state with terraces at 1,200 feet.

As the lake which formed so conspicuous a feature in the Berkshire landscape of Quarternary time needs a name I propose to call it after a good friend of Mount Greylock *Lake Bascom.*

8. Modern Topography and the Advent of Man.

In the end the mountain lake was drained probably by the Hoosic, and our present river system took place.

The quartz arrowhead tells of the presence of a primitive race of men in these hills, and the graves of Fort Massachusetts tell of that other current of humanity which, traveling westwardly around the planet, here met the one from the east and brought into this wilderness laws, education and Christianity.

The efforts made during the last 80 years to understand the structure and history of Mount Greylock and the more

recent efforts to preserve its garment of vegetation to refresh the body and spirit, imperfect as they are, yet make the crowning chapter in this history as humane as it is noble.

T. Nelson Dale.

Williams College, Feb. 7, 1900.
Revised March 27, 1901.

Greylock Reservation.

By Dr. JOHN BASCOM.

GREYLOCK RESERVATION.

The South Hoosac, flowing northward, unites at North Adams with the North Hoosac, flowing southward, to constitute the Hoosac, which then pushes westward. Five miles down the Hoosac, we meet with the Green River emptying into the Hoosac at Williamstown. This stream flows northward in a course parallel to that of South Hoosac. The road from Williamstown to Pittsfield lies up this river, and passes the low divide between its head waters and those of Pontoosuc a little more than half way to Pittsfield, near the northern boundary of Lanesboro. The road then follows down the Pontoosuc, which, passing through Lake Pontoosuc, empties into the Housatonic at Pittsfield. The waters of Lanesboro west of the Greylock Range chiefly flow southward, and those of New Ashford northward. The head waters of the South Hoosac are considerably farther south than those of the Green River, as far south as the southern boundary of Lanesboro. The head waters of Allen's Brook gather in the same region, the brook flowing southward and emptying into the Housatonic before it reaches Pittsfield. The Housatonic flows into Pittsfield from the east and the north gathering its waters in Dalton, Windsor, Hinsdale and Peru. In the irregular parallelogram, enclosed on the north by the Hoosac, on the west by Green River and Pontoosuc, on the south by the Housatonic, and on the east by Allen's Brook and South Hoosac, lies the Greylock Range. One can drive around it without ascending any considerable hill, either passing over from Lanesboro to Berkshire at an easy grade, or going farther south to Pittsfield and returning by Coltsville. This parallelogram is, at the southern extremity two miles wide and at its northern extremity four miles. Opposite Greylock it swells out to five miles. The bold portion of the range lies chiefly in the northern half. The central ridge coming from the north, breaks down suddenly at Jones' Nose to an elevation of 2100 feet, and does not again recover itself. At this point a public road formerly passed

over from New Ashford to Cheshire, which one can still traverse. From Jones' Nose southward the range is made up of rounded hills, upland forest and pasture, and presents no very striking features. The general level slowly declines southward, lapsing at Lanesboro into arable hills and at Pittsfield into open valley. Jones' Nose lies somewhat north of the centre of this parallelogram, the southern half of which is composed of uplands with no ruling impression of mountains. The northern portion starts abruptly from the Hoosac Valley into a mountain range. It is made up of three parallel ridges, all abutting on the Hoosac. Their general direction is west of south at an angle of S.10°W. The central ridge, which contains Greylock, is much the highest. Mount Williams, the northern extremity of this ridge is 3,040 feet and is higher by several hundred feet than the supporting ridges. The western of these is Prospect, an unbroken ridge running southward two and one-half miles to its highest point, Simond's Peak, overlooking the Hopper at an elevation of 2,600 feet. The eastern range is Ragged Mountain, sometimes called Raven Rocks. This is a narrow ridge much broken, with conspicuous rocks. It, like Prospect, rises toward the south, reaching an elevation of 2,500 feet. The northern terminal is irregular, dropping down into hills which press close upon North Adams and still farther cramp that confined city. The Prospect Range and the Greylock Range end at the north with rapid, symmetrical and beautiful slopes, and establish their claim at once to be impressive mountains. The northern view both from them and toward them is bold and striking. The two lateral ranges are each united to the central range by a neck at the same height, 2,150 feet. This neck in Ragged Mountain is at the southern extremity of the ridge. The range at this point approaches nearest to the Greylock Range, slowly diverging from it as you go northward. The intervening valley, starting at the neck, becomes wider and deeper toward the north. Its southern termination, lifted in clear outline against the sky, is the Bellows' Pipe, much played upon by the winds. The intervening valley, two and one-half miles in length, contains several farms. It is termed The Notch, and the brook which flows through it, deriving its waters from the flank of the Greylock Range and from Ragged Mountain, is called the Notch

Brook. Before it reaches the Hoosac, at Braytonville, it passes for a half mile through a deep, well-wooded ravine with a fine cascade. A half mile above the cascade a reservoir has been constructed across the valley eighty feet in height, and constitutes one of the sources of water supply for North Adams. Quite a portion of the valley above the reservoir now belongs to North Adams. As this land will be kept as forest and adjoins the Greylock Reservation, it will be practically an extension of it.

The neck which unites the Prospect Range to the Greylock Range is at the northern extremity of that range instead of at the southern. It spreads out into a level pasture of considerable dimensions, is full of azalias and is surrounded by a fine belt of firs. East and west the two ranges shut it in. It drops suddenly to the north into a deep ravine which divides Prospect from Mount Williams and is a fine feature in the northern terminus of the group. To the south it slopes slowly for a considerable distance, and then descends rapidly into the Hopper. The northern road to Greylock passes along the eastern edge of this open space. A delightful upland, quite hidden among the mountains, it has been known as Wilbur's Pasture. I have termed it Wilbur's Park, using the word as it is employed in the Rocky Mountains to designate any open and proximately level area enclosed in the mountains.

These two sub-ranges come to an abrupt conclusion just as they are reaching Greylock, the centre of the Greylock Range. The Ragged Mountain Range leaves the eastern flank of Greylock uncovered, opposite Adams, and does not reappear except in a few detached hills. The Prospect Range is cut to its very base by the Hopper, which embraces a bold precipitous and diversified region between it and the Greylock Range. The Hopper Brook, a considerable stream, drains this interior region. It is repeatedly subdivided, and gathers its waters from the south, east and north along deep ravines. The mountains nourish it with their secret and everlasting springs.

South and west of the Hopper, Bald Mountain rises abruptly in continuation of the Prospect Range. It reaches nearly the same height as Simond's Peak, which stands over against it. Together, silent sentinels, they keep watch and ward over the Hopper, the fruit of so much labor during the

millenniums. Bald Mountain takes on irregular buttresses to the west, and shortly disappears toward the south, leaving Sugar Loaf, a very detached mountain, to stand as a continuation of the range.

Bald Mountain is also united by a neck to the Greylock Range, and so completes on three sides the enclosure of the Hopper. This neck is also an extended pasture with a fringe of firs. I have named it Bacon Park, as the adjoining territory has been owned by the Bacons for many years. It constitutes a part of the Pingree purchase. It has been a favorite camping ground during many years for parties seeking recreation. It has been approached by a very precipitous road through the Hopper along the side of Bald Mountain. It is now readily accessible from the southern road to the summit. The charm of both these parks is the same, absolute seclusion from the valleys below, and complete fellowship with the mountains above and around them. They are quite unrivaled in these respects. Bacon Park, however, has more surrounding attractions. An easy trail leads through the forest to Greylock. A second trail runs to open spaces on the western and southern slope of the Greylock Range, which command delightful views to the south and west. A little south of the camping ground is a deep gorge, which Professor Hopkins termed the Heart of Greylock. It is a mimic Hopper on a much narrower scale. A deep ravine extends far into the mountain and well down toward its base. Into it, at a single point, is gathered a system of brooks draining the western and southern slopes of the Greylock Range. These waters constitute a considerable stream, and reach the Green River in the southern portion of Williamstown. Close upon the camping ground to the north lies the Hopper.

The Hopper is the distinguishing glory of the Greylock group. It would be felt to be bold scenery any where, but in a region no more extended than this fragment cut off from the Green Mountains by the Hoosac, it is an astonishing piece of work. Its chief features are the depth to which it sinks, the many voluminous folds of the mountains which it embraces, and the forest-covered slopes of rapid ascent which enclose it on all sides except the narrow opening to the west. The making of the Hopper cost Nature many a weary year of labor.

Cubic miles of dirt have been trundled out through that single gateway. It is divided by a strong buttress, which Greylock pushes into it, into two compartments: the Inner Hopper and the Outer Hopper. The Outer Hopper is best seen from Bald Mountain, which is its western boundary and which completely commands it from a high rocky front. This marvelous outlook is but a pleasant stroll from the camping ground. One has the whole side of Greylock, clothed in forest, directly before him, held at so favorable an angle and at so convenient a distance as to disclose perfectly its every part. The effect is magnificent at all times and especially so during the period of the fall foliage. One cannot retain the picture in its full power for very long; it must be often renewed. Bald Mountain is also the best point from which to see the fine primitive forest of mingled firs and hardwoods which is the gloriously embroidered mantle that covers the western shoulder of Greylock. Looking northward, Wilbur Park is in full sight, and, with its inverted curve, encloses a delightful far off view of Vermont Mountains. The vein-work of brooks, gathering from all quarters and descending into the Hopper emphasizes the ample folds of the forest, and gives softness to the rugged outlines of the mountains. One of these channels has the depth and boldness of a canon, and is but a few rods from the Pittsfield road to the Summit. A second channel, near the camping ground, affords a view which has been termed, The Vista. The eye ranges along the entire length of the Hopper outward through the portal and then rests on Williamstown, artistically planted in the very axes of vision. Nature has rarely given a more exquisite frame to a more delightful picture.

The Inner Hopper is reached from the north road to the Summit. A path has been cut out to it which leaves the road to the right, a little less than a mile from the Summit. This leads to a single open spot on the edge of an abrupt descent into the Hopper. This position opens up completely the inner compartment, shut in by the rocky ledge on which you stand, by the buttress of Greylock, by Mount Simonds and by Mount Fitch. The seclusion is absolute, only a single line of vision carries the eye outward to the Taghconic Range. No other portion of the group is so shut in except the Heart of Greylock, and that has nothing like the largeness of dimensions.

The distant views of the Greylock group from the north and west are much superior to those from the south and east. The central ridge has four distinct peaks: Mount Williams at the north 600 feet higher than the adjoining ridges; Mount Fitch, about a mile to the south, 80 feet higher than Williams; Greylock Summit, two miles farther on and 400 feet higher than Fitch; Mount Griffin, still another two miles to the south, and 220 feet lower than Greylock, which is 3,505 feet. At Greylock the ridge bears more to the west, so much so as to throw the valley of Pittsfield east of the line of continuation. Mount Griffin is known as Saddle Ball. It rises hardly more than 100 feet above the ridge. The four mountains in this central range are all more than 3,000 feet, and higher than any other mountains in Massachusetts.

Looked at from the south, Greylock is reduced in power by the long and somewhat monotonous slope which intervenes, serving to conceal its height and its grander features. The mountain is in a sitting, not standing posture, and is little heedful of the impression it makes. Near Lake Onota, one best sees the origin of the designation "Saddle Mountain." Mount Griffin is the ball of the saddle and Greylock the cantle, while the distance between them is much foreshortened. The depth of the saddle is 600 feet and its length 10,000 feet. The phantom horseman, checking rein and rising in his stirrups, can survey the mountains, hills and valleys of four adjoining states. In Lenox, on the hill at the church, one sees Greylock on the northern boundary of the county and Everett on its southern boundary. Everett has the same characteristic as Greylock. It is bold toward the north and east and retreating toward the south and west.

The valley which separates the Greylock group from the Hoosac Range is narrow, and yields no good perspective. Greylock, like all great mountains, refuses to be looked at on such intimate terms. Another severe detraction which this eastern view suffers is that the southeastern slope has been stripped of forest and burned over, and so offers a ragged, uninviting surface. A favorable position for the eastern view is Stafford Hill. Some remote positions in East Hawley show well the height to which Greylock rises above its fellows.

The finest view of the group, and a surprisingly fine one it is, is from the north. You pass up the North Hoosac valley through Stanford and reach, eleven miles from North Adams, the divide between the Hoosac and the Deerfield. A hill, a few rods to the left of the road, gives you as a foreground the entire valley of the North Hoosac. It is a beautiful picture. Directly in its axis and at right angles to it rises, at the distance of thirteen miles, the triple group, the piquancy of its structure fully visible. Foreground, distance, height, breadth, variety, every favoring circumstance, are fully present, and Greylock, in the midst of its retainers, stands forth the monarch it really is. Near this point, a road turns to the right and passes along the Hoosac range to Reedsboro. On this road a fine view is also met with. As seen from many points in Southern Vermont, Greylock stands a proud sentinel of our western boundary, a peer among peers.

The valley to the west of the group is broader than that to the east, and is finely closed by the very diversified Taghconic Range. This range gives many good points of observation. Just before you reach the summit of the pass which lies between Petersburgh and Williamstown you are at the head of Treadwell Hollow. Looking down this valley and across the valley of the Green River, at the distance of seven miles you are confronted with a magnificent back-ground—Greylock standing just back of the Hopper, a chief, seen through the open door of his tent. This and the Hartwellville view are the supreme ones; the one more private and personal, the other a parade on a gala day, the public eye caught and occupied by every circumstance of pomp.

Professor T. Nelson Dale has given, in the publications of the United States Survey a full description of the geology of Greylock. Commencing at the Summit, we have first a stratum of Greylock schist. This is followed by the Bellows Pipe limestone, a not very distinct layer mingled with schist. Next beneath is found the Berkshire schist, which rests in turn on the Stockbridge limestone, extensively quarried along the South Hoosac Valley for lime. These four strata repose on the Vermont quartzite. These strata vary in thickness from 600 to 2,200 feet, the schists being the thickest. They pass into, through and under the mountain from the east in

great swells or folds, each anticline followed by a syncline. The first and second troughs are much the largest and underlie respectively Ragged Mountain and the Greylock Ridge. These are followed to the west by a series of smaller waves. South of Jones' Nose the two upper strata disappear, and the lower ones flatten out into ripples. This series of synclines has given the mountain the designation synclinorium, a group of synclines. The Greylock cluster was thus first forced up by a crinkling pressure, and then brought to its present picturesque form by the patient chiseling of rain, frost and flood.

The botany of the group has not, to my knowledge, been carefully worked out. It is covered with forest almost completely, with a belt of pasture near its base. The eastern and southeastern slope of Greylock proper was cut over and burned over, and as yet shows but few signs of recovery. This rent in the mantle extends almost to the Summit. There has also been some wood-cutting recently at the northern extremity, uncovering a rocky shoulder of Mount Williams.

The range, like most of our mountains, is especially exposed to the ravages of fire. The soil is thin and composed largely of vegetable mould, much of it not yet fully decomposed. Fire lingers in it and eats into it like a canker. Roots, germs and seeds are exterminated. The soil that remains becomes dry and powdery, and is easily washed away. The heat and drought of summer on the rocks become intense, and the struggle of vegetable life for existence is forced back to the very beginning. The great protection against fire is the dampness incident to unbroken forest. There is a good deal of primitive forest on the range, considerable vigorous second growth, some territory partially cut over and of a doubtful character, and minor regions well devastated. The superb forest of large stretches still gives character to the whole, and helps to hide the mischief which has been wrought. The second growth has much of it gotten beyond the stage of brush and thicket, the undergrowth giving way to open spaces.

The soft wood is chiefly spruce, mingled with balsam fir toward the top, and with hemlock in the Hopper. The spruce is in thick belts, and is also scattered through the primitive forest in trees of fine dimensions. The hard wood associated with it is more frequently birch and maple, especially black

birch. This tree in the upper portions of the mountain, attains a large size and shows a long and vigorous warfare with the storms. The heavy trunk and knarled branches promise the woodman little beside hard labor. The more common deciduous trees are birches, black, yellow and white; maples, hard and soft; and beeches. With these are interspersed poplars, basswood, ash, cherry, ironwood. There is no chestnut on the mountain and comparatively little oak, mainly on the western slopes. Mountain ash abounds near the Summit, and with its berries attracts the birds in the autumn.

Early in the season the upper part of the mountain is white with spring beauties and later the oxalis abounds in the deep forest. The most common and conspicuous shrub is the Hobble Bush, and in Wilbur Park the Azalia is abundant, enriching this retreat both with color and odor. The Lily of the Valley—so called because it does not grow in the valley—abounds in the moist woods. There are some not very common orchids as the Habernarea orbiculata and the Goodyera repens. The varied, secluded and ragged territory of the mountain makes its flora an interesting study. The bird life, which has some peculiar features, has already been fully discussed before this society under the title, "The Birds of Berkshire." There are few regions no larger more difficult to exhaust in the range of vegetable and animal life than this group.

The first effort to render the mountain accessible and available as a resort was made by Professor Albert Hopkins and Tutor Coffin in 1841. In that year a tower was built by a farmers' bee. The first story was made of solid logs, a cubical block house, twenty feet in all dimensions. To this were added two retreating stories of framed timber, each twenty feet high. Frank Pettit, whose father moved into the Hopper in 1841 and ran the saw-mill which was then on the Hopper Brook, now lives just out of the Hopper, and is very positive both as to the time of building the tower and as to its dimensions. The impression of some who were in college at that date, or a little later, is that Professor Hopkins was the leading person in securing the tower, and that he was assisted by Tutor Coffin, who commenced his instruction in 1840. A farmers' bee was a device quite congenial to the Professor, and one that he would make successful. Robert William Adam, of the class of

'45, shares the impression of Marshall Wilcox, of the previous class, that Professor Hopkins was the moving spirit. When he first visited the Summit in '41, there was on the tower an anemomter belonging to Tutor Coffin. He also remembers a story current among the students that Tutor Coffin, in superintending the construction, carried up as provision cod-fish and crackers. As there is no water nearer the Summit than a half mile, local prohibition, as far as the Tutor was concerned, was severely enforced.

The life of the tower was not long. It was burned, but the exact date of the fire has not been lodged in any one's mind of whom I have enquired. I visited the Summit in 1856 and spent the night there. The road was uncared for and the tower dilapidated. It must have been burned not very much after that date. Charles S. Cole, of the class of '70, who visited the summit in 1866, says that there was then not only no tower but no trace of one.

In 1885 the Greylock Park Association was formed and incorporated. The capital stock was $20,000 divided into 800 shares. These shares were held chiefly in Adams, North Adams and Williamstown, the number of share holders being forty-two. The association was under the government of eleven directors. At a meeting of this board, held July 20th, 1885, William L. Brown was chosen president and William B. Plunkett vice-president. This association owned 400 acres on the summit and ridge, purchased of George B. Perry, who had been active in its formation, held 200 shares and was later its president. The work done by the association was the laying out and building a new road from the Notch to the Summit, at the cost of $4,023.50, and erecting a very adequate iron tower, still in good repair. It also built a log barn and a shanty of a house. The association never seemed to have thriven after the first spurt of enthusiasm. The records of later years are a blank. The first two or three pages alone of a large volume bear written inscriptions.

It made, however, the Summit accessible by carriage for a dozen years, during which time it was frequently visited. A charge was made as toll on the road of twenty-five cents for a single carriage, and also a tax of ten cents for ascending the tower. A superintendent occupied the house during the summer

months. The income was devoted to sustaining the road, but was not found sufficient for the purpose. When the property was passed over to the State, the association was in arears, both in taxes and in road repairs.

A meeting of the stockholders was held on the 12th of October, 1899, to see if the association would pass over the property to the State. This meeting voted to make the transfer. The stockholders had been previously asked individually to give assent to this transfer. They all yielded their claims except George B. Perry, who held 200 shares. He felt that he should receive $1,250, one-quarter of their face value.

In the winter of '97-'98, William H. Chase, under the direction and support of the Board of Trade of North Adams, brought a petition before the legislature for the purchase of Greylock as a State reservation. Two hearings were granted, and a law was passed appropriating $25,000 to be placed in the hands of a commission for the purchase of the mountain. The land purchased was not to exceed 10,000 acres; the property of the Greylock Park Association was to be deeded to the State without charge; the county was to meet the running expenses of the reservation; and the commissioners were to render gratuitous service. These conditions required the raising of $1,400, preliminary to securing the grant. The commissioners were appointed in June, 1898, and consisted of John Bascom for the term of six years, Francis W. Rockwell for the term of four years, and A. B. Mole for the term of two years. On the removal of Mr. Mole to Canada, Mayor Wilkinson of North Adams was appointed; on his death, the position was given to William H. Sperry of North Adams. Mr. Rockwell has since been reappointed for six years. I owed my appointment to the fact that, at the urgent request of Mr. Chase, I had been present at the hearings and urged the appropriation.

This commission left the task of raising the preliminary funds in the hands of Mr. Chase, whose previous services had been acceptable and successful. The remainder of 1898 and the earlier portion of 1899 were occupied by him in an effort to secure the needed money. When it became evident that he was not likely to succeed, the commission reluctantly undertook the labor with the following results. The net proceeds

of the subscriptions secured by Mr. Chase were $340.18. John Bascom raised in Williamstown $575; W. D. Curtis secured in Lenox $500; Charles L. Richmond obtained in North Adams $300; A. B. Mole received in Adams $185; and E. H. Robbins added from Pittsfield $65. The whole subscription amounted to $1,965.18. Mr. Richmond of North Adams was especially aidful in securing this result.

Mr. Robbins and Mr. Rollin H. Cooke of Pittsfield had been active for some years in building a road from Pittsfield to the Summit. The terminus of this road was only a little more than a mile from the top, when the Greylock commission took the road in hand.

The preliminary sum being raised and the property of the association transferred, the Commission was ready to commence its purchases. The County Commissioners allowed $1,500 for running expenses for the year 1900—a sum now permanently granted—and have been throughout exceedingly aidful. George A. Bauer, who had shown himself unusually efficient in building the road from Pittsfield, was appointed superintendent and has been in this position equally successful in his work.

The road from North Adams was out of repair throughout, and had been swept away in large sections. This was first put in order, and is now a fair mountain road. The road from Pittsfield was then completed to the Summit. The grade on this road was at several points steep, but a greater difficulty was found in the character of the soil. It is chiefly vegetable mould and becomes very soft and sticky in wet weather.

For these reasons the County Commissioners have built, commencing at the Summit, three miles of road toward the south, with a light uniform grade and a firm bed. It commands magnificent views. With the northern road it makes a continuous county highway through the reservation.

The land purchased to the present date, November, 1906, is between 6,000 and 7,000 acres. When the reservation is completed it will be between 8,000 and 9,000 acres. The outlines of the reservation are now defined, and, for the most part, in possession. It extends north and south from near the foot of the northern slope of Prospect and Williams to the table land that lies south of Griffin and Jones' Nose. The distance

is between six and seven miles. East and west it embraces the three ridges of the group, and comes well down to the pastures at the foot of the outside ranges. Its breadth varies from two to four miles. The general outline is a rectangle, the changing boundaries conforming to the natural features of the country. The State has granted $91,000, and the sum now in hand will complete, or nearly complete, the required purchases.

The reservation embraces extended primitive forest—hard-wood, interspersed with spruce. Most of this forest came to the reservation in connection with the Pingree purchase of 1,100 acres. It was burdened with the right to cut all spruce exceeding six inches in diameter over a certain area. This right was cancelled by an additional payment. If any considerable number of spruce are cut at any one time, not only is the beauty of the forest greatly marred, the conditions are so altered for the surrounding trees as frequently to result in their decay. The forest is also filled with dry branches and is much more exposed to fire. The cutting of trees so as to aid and not injure the forest is a delicate process, and one not likely to be very remunerative. The Commissioners have thought it best to subject the reservation to no outside claims.

Most of the spruce lumber that has been taken from the mountain was cut by Henry J. Arnold of Adams. For a considerable period he removed annually from a half million to a million feet. This became the occasion of burning over the east slope, and of the landslides which have recently defaced it.

In addition to the north and south roads, there should be suitable carriage approaches from Adams on the east and Williamstown on the west. These roads would accommodate a large number of visitors, and make accessible scenery not easily otherwise reached. The north and south roads are now great additions to each other. The views they offer are very diverse. The mountains of Vermont are opened up by one approach and the hills and lakes of middle and southern Berkshire by the other. The two together fill a long day with all it can well hold of beauty.

The wants of all classes should be met, as far as possible, by the reservation. While these roads would make it accessible by those of moderate strength, they would have no unfa-

vorable effect on its wildness and seclusion. Hard task, would remain for those possessed of suitable muscle.

The most urgent present want of the reservation is a fitting reception house on the Summit. The Greylock Park Association did little beyond providing an excellent tower. Neither the barn nor the house was adequate. These have been improved, but are still utterly unable to make the hospitable impression which should belong to the Summit, the seat of the reservation. Comfortable shelter, lunch and lodging for a night, should be provided. The evening and morning views are always the finest, and at times much the finest. I have been on the Summit in the morning hours when a fog, as palpable as the ocean, covered the landscape, peaks and ridges rising here and there above it like islands in the sea. It was difficult to believe that two thousand feet beneath these quiet surfaces, so perfectly outlined, man in cars, in wagons and on foot, were beginning to occupy themselves with the day's work. The world had fallen suddenly back to the age of those earlier æons in which it was a swelter of elementary forces.

As, at our own request, the State has entrusted to us a great undertaking, we ought not to be slow or reluctant in meeting its claims. It is not in any way the purpose of the reservation to afford another retreat to those already satiated with unappreciated pleasures, but simply to preserve the fine hand-work of Nature, and to give adequate access to it. The object should not be to civilize the mountain, but to bring the over-civilized men of the valley into complete and appreciative contact with it. This aim demands transient hospitality, and this we should be able, in a reasonable way, to extend.

The appeal which the reservation makes to the State and to the County is an urgent and unusual one. No such detached group of mountains can be found elsewhere in New England. It is at once well defined, enclosed by valleys on all sides, and large enough and bold enough to be possessed of commanding interest. It is surrounded, close at hand, by a numerous population to whom it offers a day's excursion; and at the same time it presents scenery which is an ample reward to the visitor from any portion of the State. It is the only two-story range in the State. Both in Wilbur Park and in Bacon Park, one is fully in the embrace of the mountains with moun-

tains still towering above him. Detached points of observation, like the Outer Hopper and the Inner Hopper, are grand enough to fill full the senses, and to make one wish, at short intervals, to renew the impression. The camping ground has the magic touch with which to take weariness from the brain and pain from the bones.

Greylock, rising centerwise in this magnificent group, dominates the County, stands the sentinel of the western portion of the State, and, with the New York mountains, the Connecticut and Vermont mountains before it and on either hand of it for many miles, rules them all with no rival either in beauty of parts, breadth of out-look or in height. Massachusetts, with her back to the sea, faces the continent in peace, as she first faced it in border warfare, along the mountains and valleys, which cluster about this commanding peak.

The reservation will impose some slight charge on the County, but one that even from a commercial point of view will meet with an immediate return. Our growing industry is the entertainment of summer visitors. The County is destined more and more to become a recreative resort. Nothing could better favor this object than making fully available this magnificent scenery. It was this idea which led, in part, to the formation of the Greylock Park Association. Livery-men and hotel-men were active in it as a business venture. Sound as is this view, we do not care to dwell upon it. We trust the time is remote when strangers will elbow out the native of Berkshire or send him on a lackey's errand. We would be hospitable, but in order that we may be hospitable, we would command our own house. A man can no more sell his country to advantage than he can sell himself. We would wish rather to enforce the sentiment, Massachusetts for the men of Massachusetts, Berkshire for the men of Berkshire, and Greylock, our daily pleasure, our constant symbol, our ever renewed inspiration, for all who have fellowship with Nature.

Wahconah Falls -- Their History and Traditions.

By MISS ELLA S. BROWN.

WAHCONAH FALLS—THEIR HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

The people of this vicinity have long been familiar with Wahconah Falls, for here amid these pleasant scenes have been passed many hours of rest and quiet enjoyment. Little has been written about them and there are but few who know of their history, or of the life and interests which clustered about them in the years gone by. So the little information gained to-day is gathered wholly from recollection of the old inhabitants living about here.

These falls are situated in the southwestern corner of the town of Windsor, upon Wahconah Brook, one of the eastern branches of the Housatonic River. For several rods they are a succession of rapids, the water flowing swiftly through a narrow, rocky channel, then descending abruptly a distance of seventy feet, pouring over the rocks quite a volume of water; forming as it falls an irregular, broken stairway, much broader at the base than at the top. We have here in the rugged boulders, the spray and roar of the dashing waters, the river below so filled with stones, around all the shade and quiet of the woods,—a beautiful scene,—one not soon forgotten. We are told that years ago there was more water in the brook and that the falls were much higher, as high as the boulders on either side; that these great rocks came quite near together, so near an Indian could jump across. The action of the water and the heavy spring freshets have gradually brought about the change and carried the worn, broken stones to the river below.

It is said the Indians knew of these beautiful falls and that here were favorite fishing grounds. But the early settlers gave little attention to the beauties of nature, never seeking them out, so for some time the falls were unknown. Tradition says the white man saw them first when looking for a swarm of bees. That these bees flew over from Partridgefield, now

Hinsdale, and were lined or followed by William Cleveland, Sr., who at last located them in a tree which overhung the head of the falls. The tree was cut down and a large quantity of honey obtained.

This man must have been greatly impressed with the scene which came so unexpectedly to his view. If he did not fully appreciate their beauty he did see the great water power and realized how valuable it might be made. We can imagine he then resolved some day to control this stream of water for not long after the land bordering the north side of the brook came into his possession.

Because of their location they were given the name Windsor. When Professor Hitchcock made the geological survey of the State, he saw and named them Wahconah, in honor of an Indian maiden whose father was a prominent Chief of a tribe living in the valley. Hinsdale or Dalton could claim the falls almost as well as Windsor, they being so near the boundary lines. The towns of Hinsdale, Windsor and Dalton corner in a triagle below the falls on the south side of the river. The point is marked by a stone having upon its three sides the letters D., H. and W. The line dividing Hinsdale and Dalton passes southerly from this point; that between Windsor and Dalton in a northerly direction. A stone marker on this line is seen near the gateway. The line between Hinsdale and Windsor passes diagonally in a northeasterly direction over the falls, so the upper part is really in Hinsdale, the lower in Windsor.

There are beautiful legends told of the Indians living among these hills and valleys and beside Wahconah Brook. The longest and most entertaining is that written by Godfrey Greylock in his "Romance of the Hills." But the simple, unwritten legends possess a certain charm and interest. They have come down to us through several generations and seem to bring with them a glimpse of the wild unrestrained life of the Red Man.

In one legend we are told that two Indian braves loved the same fair maiden, each vowing to win her for his bride. One she wanted the other she did not. The days came and went and the question was undecided. Finally she said she would marry the one who could jump from one bank to the

other at the head of the falls. The Indian whom she did not care for leaped safely across and turned exultingly to claim the promise. The other brave could not accomplish the perilous feat but landed in the middle of the stream. So great was her disappointment she at once sprang into the water by his side and as the two went over the falls together she called out his name—Wahconah.

Another legend tells us that the wigwams of a small tribe of Indians long dotted these surrounding hillsides. That the chief of the tribe had a daughter, Wahconah by name. Now she was the pride of the old chief's life and was greatly esteemed by all who knew her. In the valley about Pontoosuc Lake dwelt another tribe of Indians. The chief of this tribe had a son who was skilled in all the arts of his people. He had met Wahconah and wished her for his wife. The chiefs of these two tribes were at variance. There had long been bitter enmity between them. So the union of the young people was forbidden and with this decree all further acquaintance was to cease. The grief of Wahconah was so great that rather than live she chose to end her life in the rushing waters.

Some tracts of land in Berkshire County were not purchased by the early inhabitants but were granted them by his majesty, the King of England. This was true of a section of land north of Wahconah Brook, extending some distance above and below the falls. This land was a royal grant to William Cleveland, Sr., as early as 1770. He came from Connecticut and was at this time living in Partridgefield or Hinsdale. When the land became his he at once built a gristmill thus carrying out his idea in regard to the water-power.

There is in existence to-day the deed which shows he conveyed to his son, William, Jr., on August 18, 1772, a tract of land containing by estimation one hundred acres. The deed says the land was conveyed in the twelfth year of his majesty's reign, King George the Third; that it was situated in the town of Gageborough, now Windsor, was bounded by lines expressed in degrees and rods, and lay to the northwest of a gristmill. The deed was witnessed by Mark Hopkins and Michael Darling of Great Barrington. Mark Hopkins also signed it as Justice of the Peace. The mill referred to in the deed was built of hewn logs, and located on the north bank,

directly in front of the small ravine, through which at this time flows a little brook.

Now to turn this water-power to advantage Mr. Cleveland built a dam across the river, at a point, to use the words of those times, "two pools above the head of the falls." By so doing he raised the water to such a height that a part of it passed out into a ditch which he had made through the woods, to the high bank by the mill. At this place a flume was built, and from it an open trough was laid to the wheel stationed upon the outside of the mill. The trough had a steep incline, was built three feet wide and one foot deep, and the water rushing down it fell with great force upon an overshot wheel. This was a noted gristmill, the first in the section. There was no other nearer than West Pittsfield.

The land about here was yet a forest, the people going from place to place by means of marked trees. In 1770 a bridle path led to this mill from what is now Maple street, Hinsdale. Along this path, came one day on horse-back, a boy of twelve years by the name of Warren Cleveland. He started for home late in the afternoon with the bag of meal upon the back of his horse. On the way he was attacked by wolves, but in some way, probably through the speed of his horse, he escaped. In after years it was ever a delight to tell of this experience.

Other wild animals lived about here, for one day Mrs. Cleveland started out to visit a neighbor upon the other side of the brook. She carried her baby in her arms and as she stepped upon one end of the log which served as a bridge, a black bear appeared at the other end. Waving her apron at him he turned and disappeared in the woods. Surely this bear was easily frightened or could not have been very hungry.

Either horses or oxen must have been few in number for it is recalled that sometimes bags of corn were fastened to the axle between two wheels and so drawn to the mill by men.

After some years the Clevelands disposed of their property to Joseph Talcott and the milling business was carried on by him. But as there is an end to all things, so there was to this famous gristmill, where for years was ground the corn and wheat for quite a section of country. It was old and worn out, parts of it were washed away by the heavy spring freshets.

The stone foundations, still retaining their regular shape, may be seen, while the old mill stones, the upper and lower, three yet in good preservation, the other broken and partly buried in the ground, have lain in the same place for many years, a silent reminder of the days gone by, and the quiet, simple life of the long ago.

From whence came these mill stones? They are not native. They came from France, so were called French burrs. And how did they get here from some ocean port? They came from Boston on heavy trucks drawn by oxen. Through Windsor passed the road over which they came, indications of it are shown to-day, a narrow trail with the stones rolled to either side. If these stones could speak what a history they might relate; of being fashioned in some quarry in France, of the good ship and the long ocean voyage; the landing in Boston; the slow journey to this far-off corner of Massachusetts, and then the experiences in a new country!

In the year 1800 Oliver Partridge owned nearly all the land in Hinsdale. In 1802 he sold two hundred acres south of Wahconah Brook to Jacob Booth, Sr., for five hundred dollars. This land was in Hinsdale. Mr. Booth also came from Connecticut, built his log house and settled upon what is yet known as the Booth farm. He purchased land north of the brook and sold it to his son, Jacob, Jr. Now the Booths built a saw-mill near where stands the picnic pavilion; later a shingle-mill was added, the power being furnished by water brought down from the grist-mill. This was the only mill of the kind in the vicinity. Many logs were brought here to be made into lumber, the nearest market being Pittsfield. The mill stood but a short time, being washed away by the high waters. A small part of the stone foundation is standing. Mr. Booth built another saw-mill some distance above the natural dams. He soon sold this mill and the land adjoining to Daniel Bardin, who immediately enlarged it, added a shingle department, put in circular saws and a planing lathe and for some time conducted quite a business. Other parties followed in the same line until the mill was past use and like the others, in ruins. The old wheel pit may be easily found.

In 1859 the land belonging to Mr. Daniel Bardin became the property of Mr. Marshall Crane and is still owned by the

family, as is also the adjoining land for some distance down the stream.

All the early business activities ceased here long ago. Fifteen years since a soap stone quarry was opened upon the old Booth farm and has been worked to some extent. The color of the stone is light green. At first it was sawed out in large slabs for building purposes. The mill where this was done has long since become a pile of ruins. Now the stone is taken out in small pieces, carried to a mill near the depot and there ground into a fine powder which is used in paints, wall paper and some kinds of soaps; also mixed with oils used for oiling heavy machinery. The deposit belongs to a ledge of soap stone which comes to the surface at other places in the County and was mentioned in the first geological survey of the State. When the foot bridge was built to the quarry the base log in the dam of the Jacob Booth saw-mill was found. The log had been covered with water all these years and was as sound as when placed there. A portion of the trestle work of the foot bridge was anchored to it. Asbestos and emery have been found in small quantities about the quarry.

There have been homes as well as mills in this retired place, as is shown by the old cellars found here and there on land east and north of the entrance and on up the Windsor road. We know the houses were built of logs or were small frame dwellings, and we wonder about the people and wish we might know more of their history. One little incident worthy of note—around the cellar of the old Cleveland house —the first house built here, bloom each June time the wild roses.

Now from these recollections we see there was once business and enterprise about Windsor Falls. To-day we think only of their beauty, seeming never to tire of it. Each time they present the same attractive scene and we love to visit them often ever feeling for them a warm affection. The impression of grandeur or sublimity never presents itself here as when one is gazing upon the great cataracts of the world, but rather a sense of quiet enjoyment comes—it is like meeting an old friend. Truly in the secluded beauty of Wahconah Falls and their surrounding, we have as picturesque a scene as can be found along the winding course of the Housatonic River.

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A Forgotten Fraternity.

By HARLAN H. BALLARD

A FORGOTTEN FRATERNITY.

A few months ago certain historical relics were transferred from a disused room in the public library of Pittsfield, to the new museum erected by Hon. Zenas Crane.

Among other things that came to light at that time, was a large roll of white silk. When this was opened it appeared to be an ancient banner, bearing a life size portrait of General Washington, dressed in full uniform of blue, faced with buff, and adorned with gold buttons and epaulettes. The portrait is surrounded by a wreath of laurel, above which are a sword and golden trumpet crossed. Underneath is an eagle with outspread wings, resting upon a cannon and bearing on its breast the shield of the United States. On the reverse of this banner is a very large eagle encircled by thirteen golden seven-pointed stars. At the top is the legend, "E Pluribus Unum."

A search of the records of the Berkshire Athenæum revealed the fact that the old banner had been carried by the Washington Benevolent Society in Pittsfield during the war of 1812. A much longer search was required to find out what the Washington Benevolent Society had been and what its history.

The first reference to it was found in the files of a local paper, the Pittsfield Sun, as follows:—"The following resolution was passed in full town meeting (August 27, 1812): 'Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to every citizen to furnish and keep on hand suitable arms, and stand ready to aid the government of the United States, either in the repulsion of foreign enemies, or in the suppression of unlawful combinations against its authority.'" J. E. A. Smith, quoting this resolution in his history of Pittsfield, says: "The last clause was aimed at the Washington Benevolent Society, a secret organization within the federal party, whose power its opponents often experienced in unexpected defeats at the polls."

Referring to the Berkshire Reporter, the local federal paper of those days, we find in the issue of March 11, 1813:—"The Washington Benevolent Society of Berkshire consists of more than twenty-three hundred members; good men united

like a band of brothers, solemnly pledged to maintain the true principles of our happy constitution, to adhere to the maxims which distinguished the glorious administration of their beloved Washington; to relieve the unfortunate, and to promote peace on earth and good will to all mankind."

Mr. Smith, from whose history I have already quoted, says in another place: "This society embraced a large portion of the citizens of the county most eminent for probity and talent. Each member was required to sign the following pledge:—'We each of us do hereby declare that we are firmly attached to the constitution of the United States, and to that of the state of Massachusetts (or such state as the branch society was in), to the principles of a free republican government, and to those which regulated the public conduct of George Washington." The democrats, however, and some of the United States officers garrisoned in the Pittsfield cantonment, attributed escapes, desertions, and other troubles to the secret cabals of this society. On the other hand, every member of the association considered that he was in the best possible society,—at least out of England. He proudly preserved his certificate, and when he died transmitted it to his children."

CERTIFICATE ISSUED.

The "certificate" here referred to was given to each candidate upon his initiation, and was inscribed in due form on the fly-leaf of a small volume containing a portrait of Washington, Washington's farewell address and the constitution of the United States. Many copies of these old books are still in existence in households where their significance is forgotten, and many have drifted into public libraries, where they are equally neglected and unknown. One of them preserved in the Berkshire Athenæum contains the following inscription: "No. 43. This certifies that Calvin Martin has been regularly admitted a member of the Washington Benevolent Society of the County of Berkshire, instituted in the Town of Pittsfield, on the 11th day of June, 1811.

"JOHN W. HULBERT, *President.*
"JAMES BUEL, *Secretary.*"

Another, No. 2175, for John C. Williams, is in the same form but dated June 3, 1812, and signed "Daniel Noble, President, and Thomas A. Gold, Secretary." In the Massachusetts Register for 1816 this Berkshire society is listed, and the date of its organization is given as June 3, 1811.

In 1814 the following notice appeared in the Berkshire Reporter: "Anniversary of the Birthday of Washington. The members of the Washington Benevolent Society will assemble at nine o'clock a. m. at Washington hall, Pittsfield, each with his badge. The meeting will continue until half-past ten for the initiation of members. The procession will move at eleven o'clock."

The "badge" of the Berkshire society was a strip of white parchment, upon which winged Fame was blowing a trumpet, while placing a wreath on the head of Washington. It was inscribed with the motto, "Pro Patria." Substantially the same figure of Fame and her trumpet appears among the insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati, and is shown in a set of plates presented by that society to General Washington. One of these plates is in the Pittsfield museum.

The official badge of the Washington Benevolent Society at large (for, as will presently appear, it was a national organization), was of silver, the size of a dollar, and represented on one side Liberty placing a wreath on a bust of Washington and on the reverse the "Good Samaritan" bending in kindly service over a wounded sufferer; with the legend: "Benevolence."

The celebration of Washington's birthday was carried out in Pittsfield as advertised on February 22, 1814, a day so bitterly cold that it was said that every man in the parade had his ears frozen. Colonel Colgrove was chief marshal, assisted by Ralph Warriner and Henry Taylor, Col Azariah Root carried the grand banner already described, and reported to have cost about one hundred dollars. The procession marched in thirteen divisions with a smaller banner at the head of each, guarded by two cavalry men "mounted on elegant gray horses." They moved to the firing of cannon and the ringing of the bell of the Union Parish meeting house, whose attendants were almost all federalists. It was noted that the bell which called Christian democrats to the First Church of Christ in Pittsfield did not join in the federal peal. There were two chaplains, Rev. Mr. Jennings of Dalton and Rev. Mr. Punderson of Pittsfield. The oration was delivered by Daniel Noble, Esq., of Williamstown. "In the language of truth and eloquence he called to the recollection of his hearers the happiness and glory enjoyed by our country under federal administrations, and contrasted those blessed times with the present days of gloom and dispair." After the ora-

tion in the church, the procession marched to Major Morgan's inn, on the present site of the Berkshire Life Insurance Building, where more than four hundred persons partook of a dinner, "with appetites sharpened for the substantial viands by the keen winter air."

PIQUANT TOASTS.

At the head of the speakers' table sat Hon. John W. Hulbert, the most famous wit in Berkshire tradition, as president of the society. Among many piquant toasts were these:

"Our war with England:—The prosperity of Bonaparte occasioned it, may his adversity speedily end it."

"Peace:—May our spears be beaten into pruning-hooks, and wisdom into the heads of our national rulers."

"Our navy:—It has finally conquered our worst enemies,—the democrats."

"The world's best friend:—The Emperor Alexander."

An equally enthusiastic meeting of the Washington Benevolent Society of Berkshire County had been held in Stockbridge the year before, and it was with surprise that I found an account of it in the Boston Weekly Messenger of March 19, 1813.

"We have received many interesting narratives of the proceedings by which these useful and respectable societies celebrated the birthday of the great man to the honor of whose memory they are consecrated," says the editor of the Messenger, "but we shall confine our notice to the one which is the oldest in this state, and one of the most respectable for the number of its members." The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells and a national salute. At eleven o'clock the society convened at Washington hall, where about fifty new members were initiated. At twelve, the procession to the meeting house was formed by the Marshal, Major Rosseter, in the following order: Marshal, deputy marshals, martial music, artillery in uniform, infantry in uniform, citizens, (first young men, second middle aged men, third aged), two officers in uniform, members, two abreast, in thirteen divisions, each preceded by a banner, each banner attended by two of the cavalry, stewards and other officers, visiting officers and members of other Washington Benevolent Societies, committee of arrangements, orator and chaplain, the oldest vice-president bearing Washington's farewell address, second oldest with the Declaration of Independence, third oldest with the Constitution of the United States, president and an officer in uniform, band of music, two officers in uniform.

The procession moved at the discharge of cannon. At the meeting house the line halted, opening to right and left, and the procession countermarched into the meeting house, the band playing until all were seated. The president, oldest vice-president, orator and chaplain entered the pulpit, members took the body pews, the military the wall pews, ladies had seats in the gallery. The band took the high pew opposite the pulpit.

Rev. Mr. Catlin addressed the Throne of Grace. The oration by Dr. Asa Burbank was classic and elegant; casting a rapid glance over the origin of the Revolution, the orator gave a striking delineation of the character of Washington, and urged gratitude for his services, and imitation of his virtues.

The procession then re-formed, marched to Washington hall, and sat down to a dinner provided by Mr. Hicks, after which toasts were drank under a discharge of cannon, accompanied by music from the band. Among the formal toasts were these:—

"Our commercial rights:—They can never be found among the rocks and snows of Canada."

"The Militia:—Within constitutional limits every battle will be a Monmouth; without such limits, every affair will be a Queenstown."

"The President of the United States:—He is ours to administer, to guard, to adorn the state;—but not to warp or change it."

At the end of the formal toasts, it was the custom for the more sedate and conservative gentlemen to withdraw, while the younger, more vivacious, and convivial, prolonged the toasting and drinking, sometimes beyond the limits of the strictest temperance. On this occasion the Reporter confines its record to the genial phrase: "Many voluntary toasts were drunk with great eclat"; and the account concludes: "The interesting spectacle of two thousand from various parts of the county, animated by enthusiastic veneration for the memory of the immortal man whose birthday they commemorated, gives the most delightful assurance of the future welfare and safety of the country." The committee of arrangements for that day were Simeon Deming, Samuel Jones, Ralph Collins, Joseph Tucker, Augustus Collins, Charles Dewey and Henry W. Dwight.

Thus far our researches into the history of our old banner had proceeded, and, while our interest and curiosity had been sharpened, the way to any further information seemed undiscernible, when a fortunate accident enabled us to enter the secret meetings of the old Berkshire society, read its constitution, see its officers at work, and listen to their mysterious teachings.

A CURIOUS DISCOVERY.

Hon. Henry W. Taft was for many years clerk of the court for the County of Berkshire, and pursuant to his request, a portion of his historical library was given to the Berkshire Athenæum after his decease. Among these books was an ancient ledger which Mr. Taft had used for a scrapbook. It was filled with clippings of political news and addresses dated in the early forties of the nineteenth century. Thinking that some allusion to the Washington Benevolent Society might be found among these pieces, I examined them, but found nothing until as I was about to return the volume to its place, I chanced to observe that portions of words in manuscript were here and there visible beyond the edges of the clippings which had been pasted over them. Among these fragmentary words the letters "olent" caught my eye. An address of Webster was therefore sacrificed on the altar of curiosity, and the result was so surprising and pleasing that all the old speeches were carefully soaked off, and there, somewhat after the fashion of a palimpsest, lay revealed the constitution of the Berkshire Washington Benevolent Society, a large part of its secret ceremonial, and the complete records of the Otis branch of the same society, from its "institution" at the house of Mr. Messenger, in Becket, March, 13, 1812, until October, 1815, when it met, probably for the last time.

Hon. John W. Hulbert, president of the county society, a gentleman of great popularity, and known to his brother federalists as the "Hamilton of Massachusetts," conducted the simple ceremonies of instituting the branch. The records contain little of interest besides the names of initiates, the election officers, financial accounts, and instructions for reports to "the general society." The constitution provides among many minor matters, for the annual election of nine officers besides a "door-keeper." It directs that the four stewards shall be the acting officers of the society, under direction of the president; that a standing committee of five shall distribute the benevolent donations, taking care that no donation exceed five dollars to any one person in the course of three months;

that every member shall pay to the treasurer an entrance fee of one dollar, and quarterly dues of twenty-five cents; that candidates recommended by the committee shall be balloted for with black and white balls, and elected by a three-fourths vote; that the society shall meet on the first Tuesday of every month; and that there shall be a meeting on the 22nd of February in each year.

TEST QUESTIONS.

Contemporary democratic papers have reference to terrible oaths required from initiates, but I find nothing but a few test questions put by the presiding officer, after a temperate address to the candidates.

"Gentlemen," he began, "you have been admitted into this society, but it becomes my duty to inform you more particularly on what principles it was established. We believe it better to prevent distress among our fellow citizens by founding on their minds true principles of integrity, than to relieve by donations of money. The best method of preventing distress is by adopting a system of government which shall secure our rights and privileges; and we think that the constitution of the United States establishes such a government. Whilst the government was administered by Washington, it was conducted with a purity and honesty which was proved by general prosperity; during the administration of Thomas Jefferson our rights have been impaired, our constitution disregarded, and dissensions and distress have prevailed among our citizens. The members of this society have thought it necessary to unite for the purpose of preserving inviolate the true principles of our government, to establish harmony and benevolence, to relieve the unfortunate, and to diffuse such information as may promote the general welfare.

Will you, then, answer on your honor such questions as I shall put to you?

Are you firmly attached to the constitution of the United States?

Are you willing to use your exertion to preserve it against the inroads of despotism, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy?

Will you endeavor to divest yourselves of all partiality to foreign nations, when it shall interfere with the prosperity of the United States?

Will you agree to vote for such men as you believe will be faithful to the constitution, and are attached to those political principles which distinguished the administration of Washington?

Will you endeavor to aid and assist the members of this society in their several lawful callings, when it will not interfere with your duty to others or your own interest?

Will you promise never to communicate, unless when compelled by due process of law, anything said or done in this society?

All these principles and things you believe on your honor, which I call those present to witness."

It is just a hundred years since these questions were put to candidates for admission to the Washington Benevolent Society of Berkshire, and in view of the unfortunate tendency to forget or ignore the principles on which our government was founded, and the too prevalent desire to break away from the moorings of our constitution which characterize the year of our Lord, 1912, I invite particular attention to one of these pertinent interrogatories: "Are you willing to use your exertions to preserve the constitution against the inroads of despotism, monarchy, aristocracy *and democracy?*"

The constitution of the Franklin County (Mass.) society, — also preserved in Berkshire Athenæum,— is almost identical with that of the Berkshire society, and indicates a common origin. The questions propounded to candidates are the same, and there is also a formal address by the president, beginning:—

"Gentlemen: As you have voluntarily subscribed to an institution aided and supported by the wisdom, the energies, and the zeal of the great and the good, we are under obligations to greet you as brethren; and whenever you assemble around this altar, may you remember your sacred engagements. Here, my brethren, under the auspices of the venerable name of Washington, we may indulge our partialities to men and measures, unawed by an administration built on the policy of a fell tyrant, whose tender mercies are of a crimson dye, and whose proffered hand of friendship meets us only as the bludgeon of death. Let morality, hospitality, benevolence and brotherly love designate you, my brethren, as the followers of him of whom inspiration might have said: 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm! Deathless be his fame, and may his virtues live forever!'"

Reference has been made to the identity of the constitutions and rituals of the Berkshire societies, as pointing to a common origin. This is also indicated by the similarity in the celebrations held in Pittsfield and Boston.

The Boston Weekly Messenger, from which an account of the Berkshire celebration has previously been quoted, gives the story of the celebration in Boston of the anniversary of Washington's first inauguration, on April 30, 1813, which I condense for comparison.

The exercises were held in the Old South church, and an oration was delivered by Hon. Josiah Quincy. The procession was escorted by the Boston Light Infantry, the Winslow Guards, the New England Guards and Rangers, under commands of Col. Henry Sargent. A feature of the parade was a company of two hundred and fifty school boys in white and blue, with wreathes of white "Washington Roses," and with miniature copies of the farewell address, bound in red morocco, suspended on their breasts by blue ribbons. To their banner was attached the gorget worn by Washington in the old French war. It had been presented to Mr. Quincy by Mrs. Peters, a granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, and was given to the society by Mr. Quincy. Upon the dissolution of the society after the peace of 1815, this relic was returned to Mr. Quincy, and by him presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose museum it is still preserved. The banner and regalia of the order were given to the Bunker Hill Monument association of Boston, in whose rooms they may be seen today. This gorget bore the arms of Virginia, and was supported by the very ribbon by which it hung round Washington's neck on the day of Braddock's defeat.

Governor Caleb Strong, Lieutenant Governor Phillips, Colonel Humphrey and other distinguished guests were in the procession.

The procession in Boston, like those in Berkshire, was arranged in thirteen divisions, corresponding to the thirteen states, and each division was headed by a banner guarded by two cavalrymen. The society in Boston was known as the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, and according to the Massachusetts Register it was instituted in March, 1812, with William Sullivan, Esq., for president, Josiah Quincy, Benjamin Russell, Henry Sargent, Nathan Hale, Nathaniel Curtis and Nathan Appleton, vice-presidents; Lewis Tappan, secretary; George Wheeler, assistant secretary; John Welles treasurer; and Lemuel Blake, vice-treasurer. It was Mr.

Blake, by the way, who drilled the boys for the parade in Faneuil Hall. The first meeting was held in the office of Nathan Hale. The old files of the Register show that similar societies were rapidly organized throughout the commonwealth. One in Cambridge began work in May, 1812, a county society was instituted in Franklin County, January 1, 1814, and town societies on the same day in Fryeburg and Conway. Hampshire County is credited with a county branch on November 17, 1811, with Joseph Lyman as president; and Nantucket, Newburyport and Worcester followed in 1812. In the same year also a branch was formed in Charlestown "to support the constitution, preserve the Union, reciprocate advice in times of adversity and relieve the indigent."

BRANCH SOCIETIES.

Branches were also instituted in Westfield, Springfield, Chicopee, Chester, Blandford, Granville, Wilbraham, Longmeadow, Northampton, Deerfield and Becket.

A sermon by Rev. Jacob Catlin, July 15, 1815, was published by the Washington Benevolent Society in New Marlboro; in Williamstown a meeting was held October, 1813, at the house of Phillip S. Putnam, a brother of General Putnam; in January, 1814, at the house of Mr. Holden in Dalton and at Captain Luke Rice's in Florida.

On June 6, 1814, Rev. Ebenezer Jennings addressed the society in Washington, Mass. A special meeting of the Berkshire society was held in Middlefield, January 18, 1813, and the secretary, Wolcott Lawrence, requested "secretaries of all branches to transmit lists of members to the secretary of the general society." On October 27, 1812, John Pierpont delivered a poem before the society in Newburyport, and later Charles Prentiss read a poem in Brimfield.

These facts, which have been gathered item by item from stray paragraphs in old newspapers, entries in many library catalogues, title pages of musty pamphlets, and faded certificates in copies of the handbook which was presented as a vade mecum to each initiate substantiate the statement of Hon. William Sullivan in one of his "Familiar Letters," that these societies "were established throughout the state, and had quarterly addresses, annual orations and occasional poems."

The branches of this society thus far noticed have been confined to Massachusetts, and of these the Berkshire Society instituted June 3, 1811, is recognized as the oldest even by the state organization in Boston.

But a letter from a Mr. Pond, in the Pittsfield Sun of July 26, 1812, giving an account of the drastic action of a church in Rutland, Vermont, against a brother who refused to leave the local Washington Benevolent Society; an oration delivered by Daniel Webster, July 4, 1812, before the local branch in Portsmouth, N. H., in which he said: "The disciples of Washington are neither tyrants in power, nor rebels out of power"; an address by Benjamin Tappan in Kennebec, Maine; an edition of the farewell address, "published for the Washington Benevolent Societies of New Jersey"; another published in 1812 for the same society in Albany, New York, whose president was Abraham Van Vechten, the notice of a meeting of the local society in Baltimore in 1812, and of another in Annapolis, Md., August 11, 1814, in honor of the "downfall of Bonaparte"; an oration by William T. Dwight, before the Washington Benevolent Society of Philadelphia, and an account by John Quincy Adams of the admission of General Lafayette to the same society in Philadelphia in 1824; together with one or two references in Connecticut histories, sufficiently demonstrate that the Washington Benevolent Society was a great national secret organization, with state, county and town branches, and all acting in concert for the support of the federal party, and under the direction and control of some central body.

The fact of such organic unity seems not to have been publicly admitted by the subordinate societies, who fostered the belief that they were original and independent bodies, harmonious indeed in aim and tenet, but acting each on its own initiative; nor does their solidarity appear to have been suspected by the public at that time, or to have been discovered by any one since.

In fact, knowledge even of the name and existence of the local organizations has nearly faded from the minds of this generation. Histories, cyclopedias and dictionaries are silent regarding the society and its origin, with the exception of Harper's Cyclopedia of American History, which, by a manifest error, credits its birth to Philadelphia, in February, 1813, nearly two years after the institution of the Berkshire society. The constitutions and records of local societies refer indefinitely to a "general society," to which reports must be sent, but the name and location of such central organization are nowhere given. Nor is it referred to in the biographies of any of the men most interested at the time, or in the local history of any town or county where a branch existed. This was probably one of the most intimate secrets confided to the entering candidate under bond of his oath.

At this interesting point research seemed fated to halt. An extended correspondence with historical societies in various cities, and letters of inquiry addressed to living descendants of officers of prominent branches of the old societies failed to elicit light. Some had never heard of the Washington Benevolent Society, some had seen a stray copy of one of the old handbooks, and some were able to give more or less information regarding a local branch, but no one knew of any trunk or root from which the many scattered branches drew their life and inspiration.

For a time we were tempted to think that the Berkshire society might prove to have been the parent organization, as it was certainly the oldest in Massachusetts or New England; but the small size and at that time remote situation of Pittsfield rendered this theory too improbable. Some color, however, was lent to the hypothesis by a toast drank by the Old Hob society of Philadelphia in 1812: "Our secret enemies," it ran, "May they keep in mind that the tar of Virginia and the feathers of Pennsylvania farms are kept in store for the tories of New England; may they repent or be damned!" Berkshire's claims were hopelessly destroyed by the discovery that a Washington Society was instituted in Troy, N. Y., in 1810, and there was a "Washington hall," and there February 22nd, and July 4th, had been celebrated with the same formalities, processions in thirteen divisions, orations and dinners as were seen a year later in Pittsfield.

But at last we found a copy of the farewell address, which was one of an edition printed for the branches in New Hampshire, in which the certificate of admission —"Certifies that .....has been regularly admitted a member of The Washington Benevolent Society, instituted in the city of New York, on the 12th day of July, 1808, and established in the town of....., in the county of....., and state of....., on the.....day of..... A. D. 181....".

Here, then, was an official blank form, adapted to any town, county and state, and issued under the authority of a central organization, founded in the city of New York, two years earlier than the date of any other Washington Benevolent Society, of which we have knowledge. Correspondence with the New York Historical Society soon brought the information that this New York society had for its first president Isaac Sebring, and for its first secretary Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, who together with Richard Varick, Mr. Sebring's partner, were its organizers. Our problem was solved.

The line of political cleavage in the United States was drawn with the very birth of the nation. Supporters of the constitution of 1787 took the name "Federalists." Before the end of the second congress there was a definite division between the federalists and those who called themselves republicans or democrats. Hamilton was the leader of the former, Jefferson of the latter. Hamilton's views were favored by the commercial classes, and by all who desired a strong, centralized government. They were stigmatized by their opponents as "tories" and "monarchists." Besides Hamilton and John Adams, the chief federal leaders were Fisher Ames, George Cabot, Theodore Sedgwick, Caleb Strong, Timothy Pickering and Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts; Rufus King and Gouverneur Morris of New York; Bayard of Delaware; Marshall and Lee of Virginia; and Pinckney of South Carolina.

Washington was inclined toward the federal party, which was strongest in New England.

In the French and English war of 1793 the federalists, averse to the excesses of the French revolution, favored England.

In 1796 they elected John Adams president. In 1797 they nearly involved this country in a war with France. In 1798 they pressed the unpopular "alien and sedition laws." In 1800 Adams was decisively beaten by Jefferson.

The democratic, or republican, party was based on love of individual liberty. It looked with apprehension upon the possibility of federal enroachment upon state rights at least as long as federalists were in power. To this was added a strong sympathy with the nobler aims of the French revolutionists, and the resultant desires that our government aid France in her contest with England. As an opposition party, it stood for freedom of religion, freedom of politics, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press; and it advocated popular rule, national economy, limitation of governmental power and hospitality to immigrants.

OLD DEMOCRATIC CLUBS.

The democrats tolerated, if they did not encourage, the formation in many American towns, in 1793, of so-called "Democratic Clubs" of a boldly Jacobin nature, which were introduced by Genest, against the will of Washington; and

which openly expressed sympathy with France, and sought to propagate extreme populistic views in American politics. They violently opposed the strongest measures of Washington's administration, and especially those directed to the suppression of the whisky insurrection in 1794.

As early as 1789, William Mooney, an Irish-American, democratic politician, founded in New York city the "Columbian Order," a secret organization, which, in 1805, was incorporated as the Tammany Society. Under the shrewd manipulation of Aaron Burr this order secured control of New York City in 1800.

In 1809 the federalists regained control of the city by electing sixteen out of the twenty members of the board of aldermen.

This revival of federal strength, which at the time seemed mysterious and surprising, was due to the secret efforts of the Washington Benevolent Society, which, as we have seen, was organized July 12, 1808, by Isaac Sebring, Richard Varick and Gulian Crommelin Verplanck.

This society held its first public celebration on the 22nd of February, 1809, in Harmony hall, on the corner of William and Duane streets. Plans were adopted for the erection of a society building, and subscriptions were solicited by Mr. Sebring for eight thousand shares of stock at ten dollars per share. During the summer of 1809 five adjacent lots were purchased for the sum of twenty-one thousand dollars, having a frontage of ninety feet on Broadway with a depth of one hundred and twenty-seven feet on Reade street. On July 4, 1809, the society laid the corner stone of Washington hall, the first building erected in New York for strictly party purposes. In 1817, the property was sold at auction for fifty-two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. The building was destroyed by fire in 1844 on the Fourth of July.

An officer, and one of the first orators of this parent society in New York, was Robert Sedgwick, Esq. The first address before the Massachusetts society in Boston, was delivered by Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Esq. Hon. Thomas Sedwick was a leading federalist in Berkshire, and a friend of Hon. John Hulbert, whose business and political activities frequently called him to New York city, and who became the first president of the Berkshire Washington Benevolent Society.

Thomas A. Gold of Pittsfield was the first secretary of the Berkshire society, and within a year Nathan Appleton became a charter member of the Massachusetts society in Boston. Mr. Gold's sister was Mr. Appleton's wife.

The Dwights and Sedgwicks were intimately related: William T. Dwight pronounced an oration before the Philadelphia society, and Theodore Sedgwick became the secretary of the Hartford convention, which was the logical result of the influence of the Washington Benevolent Societies of New England; even though James S. Long may be mistaken in saying that "it is highly probable that the Hartford convention owes its origin more especially to this institution than to the Essex Junto."

In view of all these facts, I venture the inference that John W. Hulbert and Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., learned of the newly organized society soon after it started in New York city from Messrs. Verplanck and Sebring, and that under authority from them they organized in Pittsfield the first branch society outside of New York state; and that to the Sedgwicks, Dwights, Golds and Appletons the Massachusetts society owed its establishment in Boston in 1812.

The most striking public expression of the principles of this society was the oration of Josiah Quincy, April 30, 1813.

Mr. Quincy said in part: "The sources of our sufferings are deeper than embargo or war. Partly by the operation of the slave ratio in the constitution, and partly by emigrations into the West, the proportions of political power among the states have changed. Virginia and Georgia together possess a white population but little exceeding that of Massachusetts; yet, while Massachusetts possesses in the senate and house of representatives twenty-two votes, they possess thirty-three. But what shall we say to the admission of Louisiana? Every additional state augments that inequality of political influence which already grinds our interests in the dust. The individuals composing this state owe to Massachusetts an allegiance, original, inherent, native and perpetual."

APPLAUDED ORATION.

The oration was received by federalists in all parts of the country with the warmest applause; by democrats with ridicule and wrath. A pamphlet was written the next day in Boston, entitled: "The First Book of the Washington Be-

nevolents," otherwise called the "Book of Knaves." The style and spirit of this pamphlet and of the political courtesies of that day may be seen from one or two quotations:—

"Moreover he did propose that the tribe of tories should forthwith be called the Washington Benevolents. Now the council did indite a decree that all should march in procession to the temple, and that Josiah, who is surnamed The Whooping-Cough, (otherwise called Quincy), should deliver an oration from between the Black and White gallery. And when this was done, the company did sit down and eat, and they swallowed (Caleb) Strong liquors and did remember their sorrows no more."

"Recipe for making Washington Benevolents:—Take the heart of an old hypocrite, one pound of Shay's conspiracy, four ounces of liars' tongues (for even 1812 had its Ananias club), 20 ounces of the essence of Henryism and half an ounce of the powder of the valor of Lord Lexington. Put these into the mortar of self-righteousness, bray with the pestle of malice, and sift through the sieve of British humanity. Steep it over the fire of sedition, strain through the colander of high treason, put into the bottle of British influence, and cork with toryism. If necessary add half a dozen drops of the essence of the stamp act, sweeten with the syrup of the land tax."

This abuse was gentle compared with the storm that had burst upon Mr. Quincy after his famous speech in congress a few months earlier, in which he said that certain amendments to the constitution must be secured, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

The speaker of the house, Henry Clay, left the chair, and replied with so violent and bitter an invective as to justify the remark of a friend who told Mr. Quincy that Clay's purpose had been to reduce him to the alternative of a duel or disgrace.

The fierce temper of the time was more darkly shown in June of the same year, when a Baltimore mob wrecked the office of the federal newspaper, and tortured and murdered General Lingan, a revolutionary officer, and made General Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry," the father of Gen. Robert E. Lee, a cripple for the rest of his life, leaving Mr. Hanson, the editor, dead, as they believed, from injuries from which he never fully recovered. Tension between the parties was high in the North. Pittsfield with its cantonment was a military post. British prisoners were quartered on parole in

Stockbridge; some of them officers and gentlemen whose society was not uncongenial to federal ladies. Taxes were deemed exorbitant, and the "cost of living" was higher than it is today. The cheapest tea sold for one dollar a pound, while the finest grade, which was drunk chiefly by federalists, rose to more than a dollar an ounce.

On July 18, 1812, it was resolved by a meeting of citizens in Cheshire that if the Washington Benevolent Society should be found in support of a foreign nation, the vengeance of an indignant people should "consume them." Democratic committees were appointed to watch the conduct of Benevolent Society members. Families were divided, and churches disrupted. Prominent officers of the society in Massachusetts were suspected of a secret plot to lead New England into secession, and into an independent alliance with England; and President Madison went so far as to pay fifty thousand dollars to a John Henry, a self-advertised repentant British emissary and spy, for certain documents which were supposed to contain evidence of New England treason. Mr. Henry, however, proved to be an untrustworthy adventurer, and his papers contained nothing to the disadvantage of a single federalist. The suspected federalist plot was a myth. Federalist and democrats fought side by side during the war, and were equally sincere and equally patriotic. Both were determined to save their country, but each side believed its own way the only way to do it.

The theories which divided democrats from federalists have been unceasingly at war, under whatever names they have been known, from that day to this, and on their right balancing and adjustment the future prosperity of the United States is still dependent.

In spite of all bitterness, the old parties served as useful checks upon each other. To the Washington Societies may be credited the election of Caleb Strong as governor of Massachusetts, and of the election to congress of John Hulbert of Pittsfield, in 1814, and in part at least the protest of the Hartford convention against the political domination of the southland (strange doctrine for federalists), against enroachments of the national government upon state rights.

If it had succeeded in its efforts, the war of 1812 might have been avoided, the constitution of the United States peaceably amended, the question of a "third term" removed, the political balance and harmony of the North and the South secured, and the Civil War of 1861 possibly averted.

Of the gentlemen who founded the Washington Benevolent Society, Isaac Sebring and Mr. Varick furnished the business talent and the money, and Mr. VerPlanck the youthful enthusiasm and organizing ability. Mr. Sebring was a remarkable man. He went to New York city before the revolution, from Duchess county, and fought in the battle of Long Island. From 1803, when Thomas Van Wyck, his first partner, died, until 1809, he conducted a large mercantile business on the water front at the end of South street. He lived at No. 2 Broadway. In 1809 he took John V. B. Varick into partnership. The firm lost immense sums of money, and dissolved in 1820. In 1809 Mr. Sebring raised the subscription to build Washington hall, which for many years was the headquarters for the federalist party, as Tammany hall was for the democrats; and like Tammany hall it also contained a hotel. It was a famous place for balls. John Quincy Adams, when president, always stopped there.

After his failure Mr. Sebring became extremely poor. The democratic collector of the port, Samuel Swartout, sent for him and offered him a position as clerk. "But I am a federalist," cried the astonished old man, (he was then over eighty), "I have opposed your party all my life!" "That has nothing to do with it," was the answer, "you have served your country in war." And Sebring was again a happy and useful man, and was elder of the Dutch church, until his death at the age of ninety years.

William Cullen Bryant, in a discourse before the New York Historical Society, in 1870, said of the first secretary of the Washington Benevolent Society, of which he had very likely forgotten the existence: "Gulian Crommelin VerPlanck was born in the city of New York, August 6, 1786. His father was of the old Holland stock, a member of congress, a judge of the Duchess county court. In that county the son was in the habit of passing the summer on the patrimonial estate, which extended for five miles along the Hudson to the village of Fishkill."

It was in the VerPlanck mansion that the Society of Cincinnati had been organized; and this fact increases the probability raised by the similarity of the emblems of the two societies that Mr. VerPlanck was aided in his task of organizing the Washington Benevolent Society by a knowledge of the history and working methods of the Cincinnati.

VerPlanck's grandfather had passed his time at the Fishkill home during the revolution, in which his sympathies were on the side of the British. Gulian's grandmother, Judith, was a Huguenot lady from Amsterdam, versed not only in modern languages, but also in Latin and Greek. During the revolution her house was open to the British officers, including General Howe.

On the mother's side, VerPlanck's grandfather, William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., was an ardent patriot, a delegate to congress, and aided in framing the constitution of the United States. He was president of Columbia college from 1787 to 1800, and died in Stratford at the age of ninety-two. His father, Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, was the first president of Columbia. While in England he visited the poet Pope, who gave him cuttings from his famous "Twickenham willows." These he brought home from the banks of the Thames and planted on the wilder borders of his own beautiful Housatonic. They were probably the progenitors of all the graceful willows which have extended themselves from the sound even into Berkshire county, or as this lovely region is unwarrantably called by strangers, "The Berkshires." The younger Dr. Johnson had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Daniel Crommelin VerPlanck, and the subject of our sketch was their only child. The mother died when he was only three years old, and left him to the care of grandmother. She was a lively little lady, often seen walking up Wall street, then the fashionable quarter of New York city, in pink satin and high-heeled shoes. She trained the boy to love books and study, and taught him at a very early age to declaim from Latin authors, with a table for his rostrum, and rewarded his eloquence with pound cake.

The lessons received in his home prepared him for entering college at the age of eleven years. He took his first degree four years later. The tradition is that at his grandfather's house in Stratford, he conned his Greek, lying flat on the floor, like young Macaulay, while his fingers were twisting a lock of the brown hair on his forehead. From his maternal relatives he heard of the inalienable rights of the people; from his high tory grandmother he heard of the obligation of loyalty and obedience. The Johnsons spoke of the patriotism of Franklin; the grandmother of the virtues of Cornwallis. Thus the mind of VerPlanck was trained to independence and self-reliance, for he had to choose.

BRYANT'S FAREWELL.

There was never a party man who had less rancor. With his later years, and the honors that awaited him after he became a democrat, we are not now concerned. Suffice it to say that, after his death in March, 1870, after a long and useful life as lawyer, congressman, state senator and author, Mr. Bryant concluded his eulogy by exclaiming: "Farewell! thou that hast already entered upon thy reward! May all those who are as nobly endowed as thou, and who as willingly devote themselves to the service of God and mankind, be spared to the world as long as thou hast been!"

Appearance and Disappearance of Plants

By JOHN BASCOM

APPEARANCE AND DISAPPEARANCE OF PLANTS.

The world is a good place to live in if one has a fair share of intelligence and reasonable sensibilities. If he is deficient in these qualities, the fault probably lies at the door of degenerate parents who brought him into being with a limited outfit. Many truths lie on the surface of things and many more are half-buried in the drift of the world. If we contrast the uses to which men put the world with the uses of which it is capable, we must see, I think, that in the race toward excellence, the world is far in advance of us.

A question of great interest and which has received much discussion in our time is the relation of plants and animals to the physical facts and forces with which they are associated; the relation of living things to dead ones, in making up the world. Have they, by mutual action and reaction, developed together into a system of things, which not only makes the earth habitable, but puts it in possession of a prodigal number of beautiful and serviceable forms which spread over it, feed upon it, and give occasion to appetites and sensibilities of a varied and wonderful order. A crucial question is, how did these plants and these animals spring up in their marvelous variety, and together take possession of a land spread out under sun and stars as an orderly and constituent part of the universe. It has been thought that every plant has been shaped and put in position in a special manner; as seed is sown in a garden to suit the purpose of the owner. Over against this view and in antagonism to it, it has been contended that the earth and the things that grow out of it have been on terms of constant and necessary reaction; that the soil could not do otherwise than beget the living thing, and that the living thing, under the given circumstances, could not be other than what it is. The onward movement thus becomes inevitable, contained in the conditions of which it is the result. The one theory lets in the divine thought as the immediate and direct source of what is, the other theory rules out this thought, and finds each succeeding step in the steps which preceded it. The world takes care of itself and calls for no special providence to watch over it.

A first difficulty of this theory is that the universal harmony between living things and the world which nourishes them is not sufficiently explained. Certain elements and certain energies must be present as the condition of any life. Not every soil and every climate will beget growth, but only certain soils and certain climates particular forms of growth. Favorable as the earth is to living things, it does not always and everywhere beget life. It has its barren places and its deserts where no reciprocity is established. The world must be essentially what it is in kind and amount of material before this action and reaction between living and dead things can be set up. It was a notion current in earlier times that the world itself was a living thing, ordering its collective processes in the same mysterious way as the shrub or tree builds itself up. The world as one whole was thought to contain and combine all mysteries held within it; and it is more rational to make this general adaptation and combination a living process than it is to regard it as the result of accident, and so to hide in this soil of accident all the creations which spring out of it.

But if we concede life to the world as one whole, this theory is still unable to establish its contention. It has at its disposal two agencies with which to shape the system of living things, slight fortuitous variations and natural selection between them: In other words, changes must happen in the unintentional play of forces upon each other, and that change which has an advantage over other changes must prevail. This explanation fails us for two reasons. Fortuitous changes may be indefinitely great in number, and confuse and overpower any constructive process which might arise among them. A second failure is that natural selection cannot operate successfully among a relatively infinite number of infinitesimal transformations. The benefit must be distinct and sufficiently great or it cannot rule out other varieties. The significant change also by which a variety is established often involves, as in the fertilization of plants, several modifications mutual supporting each other. Any one of these being omitted, those remaining have no value. Moreover, the significant changes are not always found in one form of life taken singly, but in two or more forms in their relation to each other. The plant and the insects which are to fertilize it, the parent and the offspring which is to succeed it, must come under consideration in a manner which must ren-

der the changes not fortuitous, but fitted to each other. Of this we have proof in what are termed sports, which give new, definite and available terms of life at one stroke.

Yet this theory of natural selection has been by no means useless. It has taught us to look upon the coming and going of plants as a wise process, closely united with the physical circumstances which accompany it. Perhaps the best theory of the world is a Divine Presence in it showing itself always by a beautiful adaptation of part to part. There is a constant interplay between the earth and its occupants, looking not to ulterior results simply but to immediate dependencies by which the prevailing tendency can be anticipated and partially modified. We are not, in our hold on the living world and our rule over it, vainly contending with a divine will at every turn too powerful for us, but with indications which show us what may happen and the methods by which the issue can be shaped to our wants. We neither live where events, good or bad, come to us fortuitously, nor where an arbitrary will, kindly or unkindly, shapes our action, but where principles, looking toward the general welfare, guide us, principles that can be greatly aided or retarded by our obedience or disobedience under them. While we are not the sole architects of our fortune, we are at work on it, ignorantly or wisely, as opportunity offers.

Before the appearance of man, the processes of world-building went forward under more direct and immediate exigencies; but since his arrival the case has been much altered. It has been often remarked that the Rosaceæ, to which so many of our fruits belong, was one of the later families in development, as if in preparation for the wants of men. When men once came into possession of the earth, its plant life was greatly altered. The vegetable, grains and fruits which supply nourishment and enjoyment were substituted, over large areas, for the native growth. The forests, indeed, retained their customary varieties, though even here there was considerable modification. This rapid and complete change is more marked in the prairies of the West than on the hills of New England. There the plough reaches at once almost the entire soil, turns under the native growth and flowers, and substitutes grass, wheat and corn. There are few dells, ravines or hills, and no nooks of escape, not even a fence corner, in which wild plants can take refuge. Even if oak forests are present, as in Wisconsin, they are not hospitable to flowers, and a rapid change in plant life goes forward. In New England there are many places of shelter,—rocks, brooks and mountains,—which bid defiance to tillage.

The plants which man chiefly propagates are not hardy, call in the outset for careful selection, and are improved and cultivated with much diligence. Though there is marvelous progress in the variety and degree of ministration of these plants to man's enjoyment, it all comes by foresight and labor. While nature may seem to be, and truly is, prodigal in her gifts, they all have a price which must be paid. The growth of cultivated plants is pre-eminently a result of skill and labor. Weeds, on the other hand—and by weeds we mean plants which tend to crowd out and exclude useful growth—often times transfer themselves rapidly from place to place and lay hold of any opportunity offered them with immediate success. When, therefore, we speak of the appearance of plants as unexpected and noteworthy, we have almost exclusive reference to weeds, carrying on their warfare with man's intrusive culture, under a wild native vigor of their own. It is a matter of interest to see with what constancy and ingenuity this warfare of plants is waged. There are methods of attack and defence suited to every variety of cultivation and climate, and every period of the year. The meadow, the grain field, the potato field, the garden and the road side, all have their enemies with distinct ways of approach. It is no easy natural selection which determines the issue. Only the most persistent and skillful labor settles the successes and failures of cultivation. The farmer, in his ignorance or indolence, is often a poor match for the untiring forces of nature. She seems to say to the easy going farmer, "if you prefer ill-directed and off-hand labor, I will meet you there. There shall be a little of everything and not much of anything. Crops and weeds shall divide the fields between them. If you intensify your agriculture, I will strengthen my resistance and still put you to hard labor." The world is indeed capable of large crops, and her prolific plant life can be pushed up to a point of high production, but this is a result not conceded to ignorance or indolence; it is a mental achievement to which each and every one of our best powers must be rallied. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, has been thought a curse. It is rather the supreme blessing of the world. The world is conquered to excellence, not idly concessive to it. We rule as rulers or rule not at all. The appearance and disappearance of plants, like a sudden charge of cavalry, are incident to this strife, and make the world to be what it truly is, the arena of all our powers.

The Canada Thistle is little disturbance to the corn field, while it smothers wheat and oats. Plant potatoes and a battalion of weeds at once make their appearance. A clean potato field is rarely seen. The early hoeing is effective, but the tops soon fall over and offer beneath a good seed-bed, of which a half dozen kinds of weeds quickly avail themselves. The withering tops afford no obstacle, and the field seems to present in the Fall a crop of weeds quite as much as of potatoes. Rag-weed, pig-weed, worm-wood vexed the farmers of Europe as they vex our own farmers, and have followed the plow and hoe as faithfully as the plantain follows the feet of men. These typical, omnipresent weeds seem to have nothing to commend them. They are coarse, unsightly, with no pleasing quality. They rest defiantly on their own aggressive power. This attitude, however, may partly misrepresent them. The hoeing up of weeds secures a more frequent and complete movement of the soil, and the withering weed reduces the baking sunlight and dissolves readily into nutriment. Even rank weeds, through the compost heap, may go to enrich culture. The labor expended on weeds is not wholly lost. It reacts favorably on good tillage.

Field-weeds and garden-weeds fit themselves to their particular tasks. Purslane is distinctively a garden-weed. Prolific in seed, with a firm root and a rapidly growing fleshy stem, it will resist successfully a very industrious hoe. Left on the ground, the least moisture will give it a new start, till we are willing to accept repression in place of extirpation.

Botanists dwell on the means of dissemination which are associated with seeds; the elastic capsule, the winged and hooked attachments, their resistance to digestion by animals.

Weeds, as a class, have unusual powers of propagation; it is this fact which in large part makes them to be weeds. The smallness and multiplicity of the seeds by which they are able to conceal themselves among the products of useful plants, and so are scattered unintentionally by man, and still more the vitality of the seed, by which it lies latent till the moment favorable for growth has arrived, conspire to make the presence of weeds an assured thing. Their unexpected coming by methods not easily conjectured render the conflict with them varied and unending. A creeping habit; or fine, fibrous roots; or an unusual long and strong tap root; or the vitality of the stem may be an occasion of unusual difficulty of extirpation. Some plants travel outward from

definite centers, and others disseminate themselves widely and loosely over large surfaces and offer no one point of attack. Whatever is lost in one direction is gained in another, and they spread over the field like the open ranks of the Boors, dangerous in what seems to be defeat. When I went to Madison, Wisconsin, our common Daisy was quite a stranger; before I came away, it was scattered widely and very much at home. Rudbeckia, sometimes called the Yellow Daisy, thickly covers a meadow in Pownal, as if sown from a single center. Ordinarily it takes up but little ground, a few plants existing apart. If it had the obscure and general dissemination of the Daisy, it would, with its rough texture and utterly useless growth, be a much greater nuisance than its less obtrusive congener. To pull Daises seems a useless and unending labor; they are best fought by high cultivation. The seed has a species of omnipresence which at once makes itself apparent in a poor meadow. Amid this diversity of methods and of prevalence in plants, the worst habit of mind into which the careless farmer can slip is, the half-formulated feeling that a devil of chance rules the world, and that it is not worth while for that reason to give oneself unnecessary vexation. A disease has overtaken apples of late years of which I have been unable to get any rational explanation or reliable remedy. The apple loses succulent development, is full of hard woody growth and has no longer any flavor or favor with the palate. It has seemed to me that the trouble might be due to an interior fungus. This is the more probable as it affects some varieties more than other varieties, and the lower shaded branches more than the upper ones. Only one thing is certain in husbandry, that there are causes, though they may be obscure, and that they demand skill and caution in ferreting them out.

The Fall Dandelion offers in Williamstown a good example of an unintentional scattering of a mischievous weed by men. It is an inconspicuous, strawy plant, with nothing of the regal self assertion of the Spring Dandelion. It covers the ground thickly, seems to spread by slow stages and gives the Autumn field a waste, neglected look. I am inclined to believe that it found its way to Williamstown, a good many years since, in connection with the straw employed in a package of nursery trees. From this center it has diligently improved the intervening years in covering a few acres.

In offering the Berkshire Historical Society a paper on the appearance and disappearance of plants, I had chiefly

in view, under the first head, the appearance of plants, not the ordinary persistence of weeds, but the sudden instrusion of weeds not hitherto present. These new comers are not altogether unlike the Eastern hordes, which, with sudden invasion, over ran Northern Europe in the Middle Ages, and finally disappeared or settled down among the accustomed occupants of the soil. Some have a migratory habit, coming and going much of their own will. Some are disposed to colonize, taking up suddenly new quarters congenial to them and spreading over them in permanent occupation. Some fifty years ago I met a plant of this kind on the roadside, near where the Boston and Maine Railroad meets the road from Berlin. It drew my attention at once as something new. A few years later I found that it had covered the hills to the East and was in full possession of the land. It is a coarse, rough plant, which reaches the height of three or possibly four feet and has a not inconspicuous blue flower. It seems to belong to the Echinospermum, or stick-seeds, though I find no very satisfactory description of the species. It is a congener of Hounds Tongue, though Hounds Tongue is thinly scattered and rarely occupies any considerable territory. This plant has put in an appearance in Williamstown, ten miles to the South, in patches on the gravelly banks of streams or on gravelly knolls. It has the manners of a troublesome weed; though few farmers will give it any attention so long as it skips their cultivated fields. It has a habit of its own and comes without admonition.

A few years since a good deal of annoyance was anticipated from Butter and Eggs, Linaria vulgaris. The flower of the plant, were it not for a disagreeable odor, might be pleasing. Having a fine divided root, it suffers little from being pulled up and covers the ground in the meadow which it has once occupied. It has a habit, which greatly reduces the anticipated evil of its presence, of unexpectedly shifting its quarters, abandoning the old and taking possession of the new for inscrutible reasons of its own. While, therefore, its yellow flowers may be an annoyance to the thrifty farmer, the careless farmer gives it little heed. It is not easy to say how it manages these migrations, but its disappearance at one spot goes far to atone for its unexpected presence at another.

Some plants, as the Daisy and the Wild Carrot, spread with great rapidity, and make a show at least of entire possession. Their facility of transfer makes them formidable

adversaries. Fortunately they leave a good deal of room for other vegetation, and are easiest exterminated by rich cultivation. These two plants, the Daisy and the Wild Carrot, have great resources of seed and are ready at once to take possession of all that is left open to them.

The Yellow Daisy is a more burdensome plant than the White Daisy. It propagates less rapidly, but it takes more tyrannical possession of the ground. If the wind is softened to the shorn lamb, the scourge of weeds is laid on the shoulders of men with some reference to their power of resistance. No plant rules the world, not even a weed. If its character is wholly obnoxious, the burden is usually lightened by slower propagation; or if the powers of propagation are immense, the plant is bearable. This principle of adaptation is of wide application in the world. Nothing has entirely its own way. If we have a dominent defect of character, we are not called on to wage with it a constant and harassing warfare; we are not to weaken virtue by a fatiguing overbearing fight with one fault. Some comfort still belongs to us. If we sleep on an uneven surface we may shift our position to suit the inequalities. A stick for a pillow is said to serve very well the wants of a Chinaman. Civilization multiplies men and barbarism thins them out. Our Indians were never anywhere nearly as numerous as they seemed to be.

Our streets and railroads, with broken soil and uninterrupted passage of wind, are highways of travel for weeds as well as men. Sweet Clover, Melilotus officinabis-alba has little besides its name to commend it. It is a tramp plant and travels in force along the road. In early Spring it seems innocent enough, but in mid-Summer and Fall its bad quality appears. It grows four or five feet high with a branching stiff stem; retains all dust and has fellowship and protection for every coarse plant. No animal seems to have any liking for it. It is emphatically a vagrant, taking possession of open spaces, sheltering refuse of all sorts and more and more an offence to the eye. It is destructive of good order in the highway and becomes a conspicuous token of negligence. It is a complete expression of the I-don't-care temper, and the last step in the degeneration of taste. The first step, therefore, in village improvement is to order it out of the road and fortify all unoccupied places against its slow approaches. It has no redeeming quality, unless it be such a quality to make promises in youth that are not made good in age.

The road-side is an interesting problem in husbandry and in the refinements of taste. There are few things in which our civilization is more backward than in roads and road-sides. Poor roads frequently go with unsightly borders, and seem designed to make intercommunication possible but not pleasurable. A wild hedge row has its advantages, but also its grave disadvantages. It is often an unfavorable cross between poor cultivation and wild forest life. It is the spontaneous gift of nature, but it often shows that we are content to take what we can get and let the rest slide. We do not accept the challenge of nature to make the most of her gifts. A wild hedge-row on the side of the road may be the hiding place of obnoxious plants, of stones and refuse, and of trees, the conspicuous homes of the tent caterpillar. The diligent farmer sometimes thinks it to be a public boon to make a clean sweep of the road-side, leaving the defacing scars of all former injuries. Tillage that runs to the road-bed is commonly the most acceptable, and, as a matter of taste, the least objectionable, treatment. Yet it can hardly be compared with a border that indicates a constant sympathy of man with nature in her spontaneous products, open spaces and living screens.

Moneywort—Lysimachia nummularia—is a plant which has recently forced its way extensively into the grassplots and lawns of Berkshire. There are few plants more insinuating and persevering and more difficult of extermination. It creeps under the hedge and over all dividing lines and puts in its innocent appearance everywhere. It is a good hanging basket plant, and owes its dissemination in part to that fact. It drops is long flexible stems with its cheerful yellow flowers on all sides, apparently in deference to the mind of its mistress, but really anxious to get its many feet once more on the soil. Gray says of it that it "escapes from the garden" at times; he might better have said that it always is planning a silent, secret raid. The prisoner, hanging by his twisted bedding from his grated window, is not more anxious for the sweet land from which he came than is this inquisitive, adventurous plant for fresh fields. There is no part of the county free from it. Every part of the plant seems to be prepared for aggression. Its stems branch in all directions and take root at every joint. Its fibrous roots are so small that it scorns pulling and hoeing, and is ready after every accident of that sort for a new effort. For a time I fought it in my lawn with salt and with carefully turning over the sod and sowing it again with grass seed. I made little or no

headway, and found that the entire lawn must be put under protracted cultivation; and then, at the close of the effort, I must be prepared for a renewed attack on all sides. I made up my mind that the grapes were sour and I would let them grow to suit themselves. I am not at all sure but here in is the remedy. I have observed that when it has the ground all to itself, it seems to be discouraged by the victory and, no obstruction offered, is ready to travel on. The weed—I must call it a weed though it is rather a pretty little plant—seems to be armed against all enemies except itself. Like the wickedness of the wicked it fails at this point of excess. If it is disposed to devour itself it is certainly folly to interfere. If moneywort has ever a mind for new victories, as its name might seem to indicate, then our policy should be to overlook the errors we cannot correct and avail ourselves of the concessions that are at hand. A community that can wage a successful warfare against a plant of this incendiary order is not to be found in New England.

There is one more plant which I suppose must be called a weed, it comes in so rapidly in newly sown grass and grain fields and, if it opposes but a slight obstacle, does nothing to aid the new crop, Innocene, Housatonia cærulea. It is a low tufted plant with innocent bluish white blossoms. It seems to say, with your permission I will occupy and adorn this clod of soil which nothing else has reached. I will give the raw field a touch of color not displeasing to the sensitive mind. If it is to be regarded as a weed, useless to the useful plants of the world, we are still thankful to it for reminding us, in an unobtrusive way, that we do not live by bread alone.

There are two plants to be mentioned as lying somewhat between desirable and undesirable growth. Hawkweed and Gentians. Neither of them would readily be called weeds, yet they have some affinity to them. The most distinguishing trait of a weed is its persecution of human tillage. With this usually goes marked power of reproduction, making its presence in lawn, garden or field troublesome. Hawkweed, Hieracium curantiæum, has a sudden, rapid power of propagation. It appears in force in some new locality, and you wonder how it came there. It saves itself from being a weed by its indifference to cultivated ground, and by the readiness with which it travels on. The rich, golden, flame-colored flowers at once attract and hold the eye. The Fringed Gentian, Gentiana crinita, is a beautiful plant. In New England it

is somewhat shy and retiring, in the Rocky Mountains more common, and in the Alps ubiquitous; and always everywhere welcome. There are seasons, however, in New England in which it is especially abundant. It seems to forget its diffidence and bestow its presence freely on meadow and pasture. A large number of dormant seeds must wait in the soil, and, when the right note is struck, start into life.

We have now reached the disappearance of plants. Our attention in this connection is chiefly drawn to those delicate forms of growth of whose presence in the world we have been, here and there, from time to time, so agreeably reminded. Doubtless there are many other plants, more obscure in their service, that have traveled this same road to forgetfulness. The breaking up of fields, the felling of forests, drainage and pasturage are all destructive to native growth, especially so in a level, open country. On the plains cultivation works an immediate and rapid change. New England with its somewhat obstinate soil is a noble refuge both to lower and to human life. I was never able to feel in the wide prairies of the West that it made much difference where I was. Be where I might, I was in no place particular. Yet a New Englander need not feel that the Westerner covets his vineyard. He usually has a tinge of sympathy for the man who cannot hoe his corn among the stones and rocks without being heard a quarter of a mile off. God plants a love of country in almost every human breast, and the worse the country the stronger the love. The Scotch Highlander clings to his hills. For one I am glad to vegetate in Berkshire, and not less so because so many other vegetables are reluctant to take hold here. Yet there are a good many plants, giving way before the clumsy, crushing foot of industry, that I would be glad to retain. The history of the world and the poetry of the world have been specially revealed in plants, and the lingering fragrance of the world's Spring, now gone by, I would be glad to preserve. The Orchids are a somewhat numerous and an interesting family, and one that is fighting a losing battle with civilization. Their separation from other families; their ingenious devices for reproduction; the conspicuous, the delicate and the ordinary members of the household; their fugitive and carefully selected places of abode, make them objects of curiosity and interest. If some of them hold their ground with fair tenacity, others are shifting it or losing it altogether, in a way, if not distressful yet to be regretted. The fringed Orhis—Orchis grandiora—is a conspicuous and beautiful plant found in damp meadows and in the borders

of woods; and yet not to be found with certainty twice in the same place. It plays a hide and seek game in the early Summer, and one feels the hilarity of a child in finding it. The Arethusa, Pogonia and Calopogon are very delicate and also rare plants, which threaten in their retiring habits entirely to forsake us. The Cypripediums are among the most showy of wild flowers, especially the Cypiepedium spectabile. It loves a moist, mucky soil in an open forest. It neither flaunts nor hides its fine flowers, but in small groups holds them high in the checkered sunlight. One who is botanizing for the beauty of plants is not often better rewarded than by coming, in late June, on a group of these companionable flowers. In Williamstown this species has been driven back to suitable spots, here and there, in the northern forest. It was quite abundant in a few of the tamarack swamps of Pownal, but it is becoming less so. President Carter was wont for years to adorn the stage at the delivery of the Baccalaureate sermon with scores of this unique and impressive plant, able to give emphasis to the high order of events with which they were associated. It is time, however, that our interest in the beautiful things of the world should lie in the direction of cherishing them, not in exterminating them. We should find as much pleasure in leaving the flower to flourish in its own surroundings as in plucking it to perish in our surroundings. Fortunate is it that the grandest display of nature in sunrise and in sunset are quite beyond our interference. It is a divine intimation that in shifting these curtains of the sky, we are mere spectators whose hands play no part. If we cannot make our footsteps blossom with flowers, we can withhold our feet from treading on those that are already blossoming. Of those things which speak of the loving presence of God, none are more direct or distinct than flowers. The world might have been without flowers, but if it had been, the whisperings of love would have been far less audible, the sense of a pervasive divine presence far less distinct. The variety, prodigality, color and fragrance of flowers all speak of sportive, creative and superabounding grace. God is more as one with us in flowers than in food, shelter or clothing.

Some plants that may seem vulgar in their abundance may have one species that quite redeems the family. Lobelia cardinalis, hidden, yet not hidden, on the banks of some quiet stream, uplifts a glowing torch to the whole neighborhood. The ordinary milkweed is an obtrusive, bold growth, but the

Asclapias quadrifolia is as retiring as it is delicate. The Clematis is a vine that may spread itself on any fence-row, yet the Clematis verticillaris, with its large purplish blue flower, is rare, at least in Berkshire. I have found it but twice and then not a second time. You are not sure of it. It comes and goes in obedience to its own obscure wants. It is not easy to cherish a plant so forgetful of culture. Flowering Wintergreen—Polygala pancifolia—is a shy, winning plant, that loves dry pine woods and affiliates somewhat in appearance and locality with wintergreen. One is reluctant to lose it, though it will bear but little exposure. In Sheffield it has retreated a mile up the mountain in search of more quiet quarters. It makes little pretension, but is very rewardful in its quiet beauty.

The large white, and at times pink, Trillium is widely scattered and can hardly be called a rare plant. Yet I have known but one locality near Williamstown graced with it, and that was ten miles on the road to Bennington. The border of a meadow, fringed by a rocky hill and loose forest, abounded with it. The trolley line came along, ran the whole length of the meadow with a wide embankment and seems completely to have thwarted nature in her landscape gardening. Our civilization often exacts a price for its gifts, and is at times ugly about it when it could as well be handsome. To unite nature and art without a long seam, which is neither the one nor the other, calls for a skill we have not yet reached.

Botany in its competion with other natural sciences, has fallen somewhat into disrepute, as a fit study for girls. This is an opinion unjust both to the girls and to the science. Girls like boys are born into the intellectual world, are entitled to the range of it with only such restrictions as its own good order imposes; restrictions which the girl is quite as quick to note and careful to accept as the boy. The science as an accumulation of names may be met with disfavor, but as covering one great division in the army of life, which has marched step by step with the creative plan in the upbuilding of the world, it has a breadth and majesty which gives it position along side of all knowledge. If we note the insignia, the separate colors and distinct services under which these innumberable divisions of plant life have marched; if we have caught something of their relation to each other and to the entire plan of creation, we shall see that we have not to do with a series of names but with a series of things, most

significant in the one great procession. One often feels, in forcing his way through the thorny hedge which invests almost all knowledge, that he suffers some unrequited wounds and scratches; that he has endured the labor of knowing without much of its liberty. This is the story of childhood in all directions, yet we do well to break into the preserve of knowledge, hoping to live in it and to die in its Elysian fields.

We have occasion for scant patience with the education and training of our time which are directed to the means of living and not to life itself. I have a lasting feud with our millionaires, they so unnecessarily scrape together the instruments of life while treating life itself so slightingly. We seem to live in the age of the pyramids, when kings were to be judged by the size of their tombs, heaped up by the labor of slaves. We are not yet out of the hand of fools and tyrants. This world is wonderfully fitted up, and we are hardly ready to live in it till we know something of its furnishings and of its proper uses. We are to remember that our constant approach to God is through the works of God.

This paper has been so discursive that I am at liberty to deliver its final blow in almost any direction. I wish to deliver it in the direction of the Greylock Reservation. If I could induce the people of Pittsfield to have a somewhat more immediate and personal interest in that reservation, I should feel it a great success. It is, and aims to be, a grand presentation of the creative work so far. If the plant life and animal life, which pause at the reservation and have pitched their tents on the slopes of Greylock, are fittingly understood and felt we are once more back to the antecedant and creative period. If the magnificent views which come down out of heaven to that bold summit and go back to heaven, are treasured in their coming and going, we shall still nestle under the wide spread wings of revelation. If the silence of nature becomes our sanctuary, in which the forces and voices of creation are still present, seen and unseen, audible and inaudible, we still have a life deepened, widened and enriched to something like the scope of the divine mind. If we, the inhabitants of Berkshire, can hear when God speaks to us, can see when he spreads out his visions of subtility and power, then are we, so far forth, the sons of God. He who thinks that the mere waste of civilization, the barren rocks stripped of all significent character, the old clothes of ill requited labor, are good enough for him may find that he is not good enough for even these worthless things, and that the only renovation of which he is capable is to be taken back once more into those

primitive elements from which he was raised by an act of ill timed creation. The many colored garment of mosses and grasses, of flowers and of forests, by which the world was prepared for us is not to be lightly cast aside, unless we are willing to part with God's gifts, forever. In every inch of the ground over which we are now passing there are things to be fought against, things to be fought for; if we are to come into possession of a world at once God's and our own, a world which is let down out of Heaven and still maintains easy access to it.

Mount Washington.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS, JUNE 1ST, 1907.

By F. H. KEITH, C. E.

MOUNT WASHINGTON

HISTORICAL ADDRESS, JUNE 1ST, 1907.

I have found it rather difficult to select from my voluminous material of the history of the town, which dates back to the first settlers in 1692, such part as would be of the most interest to those who have so kindly gathered here to help us take some notice of an important event in our history, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the township under the New England plan and the declaration of independence from the tenantry system of New York which for two generations had been maintained here by Robert Livingston.

Many of you have doubless heard of the anti-rent wars of Columbia County of a later date which finally resulted in its overthrow some sixty years ago in New York, and an unsuccessful attempt of the inhabitants of the town of Livingston in 1795.

This declaration of independence as it were one hundred and fifty years ago by the rightful purchasers of the Indians, was not accomplished by smooth sailing by any means. Six years of previous contest were followed by ten more before their rights were fully secured and not until 1787 was the state boundary fully established. The town was first settled in 1691 or 1692, by Dutch tenants of Robert Livingston from Columbia County, New York, who, after the later settlements of the neighboring towns of Great Barrington, Sheffield and Egremont in Massachusetts, and Salisbury in Connecticut, under the New England plan of individual ownership, with school and church privileges, became discontended under Livingston's tenantry system.

Finding themselves to be east of the generally understood boundary between Massachusetts and New York, beyond which the grant of the New York Governor to Robert Livingston in 1714 could not extend, but which he claimed here, they presented a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts sometime in 1751, headed by William Bull, their psysician of Sheffield, who died May 28, 1758, and is buried in the Sheffield village cemetery.

This petition in Volume six, page thirty-two of the State Archives says:

"There is a tract of Land west of Sheffield within this Province which Robert Livingston jr. Esq is endeavoring to Engross and annex to his manor and many families are already settled thereon &c."

In answer to this petition is the following report in Volume one hundren sixteen, page thirty-six of the Archives: "Pursuant to the order of the Honorable House of Representatives of Oct 11 1751 I have viewed the lands mentioned in the petition of Wm Bull & others and conferred with the inhabitants Living on sd lands who are chiefly Dutchmen who inform me that they were encouraged to Settle sd Land many years since by Mr Livingston to whome they have paid great rents from year to year but he never gave a leave to any one of them but refuses to do it they further inform me that upon examination they find that they have not Settled within sd Livingstons Patent thereupon divers of them the Last year have refused to pay him any rent & that he declares that he will send them all to Gaol very soon if they do not pay their Rents they appear very Selicitous to be taken under the protection of this govarnment. As to the quality of the lands Some of them appear very good they lie on a small river or brook which heads in Taucaunnuck mountain Runs northerly and southerly some miles. the most valuable lands are in possession of about twenty families. more than half of the lands mentioned in sd petition are upon the Great Tauconnuck mountain which is very high and impassible many miles together the other lands except what is under improvement as above sd are chiefly White Oak *Rock Oak* Hills Some of them are pretty good other of them mean and poor.

Ov Partridge

Following this report is one from the following committee: Joseph Dwight, Colonel Bradford and Captain Livermore (Volume forty-six, page three hundred seven) giving the names of forty-four men owning thirty-two houses, having nine hundred and sixty-six acres fenced, seven hundred and seventy-two improved and making forty-nine barrels of "Syder" with the years occupied by each and their predecessors. Among the largest are Christopher and Henry Brasee, John Hallenbeck, Abraham and Richard Spoor, sixty years, and Eph Race, fifty.

This is doubtless one of the earliest statistical papers of any town of western Massachusetts and would indicate a population of from one hundred fifty to two hundred, or more than double the present number.

From this time for many years afterwards the history of this town was exciting and interesting in its contests between Robert Livingston backed by the governor of New York and the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and doubtless had much to do with securing to Massachusetts the western part of Berkshire County as the contentions of the Green Mountain boys the State of Vermont.

As a result of these petitions and reports the under mountain section of Sheffield with this town was annexed to Sheffield until its incorporation, June 19, 1753, when the present boundaries between the two towns were established. leaving a strip on the easterly slope of the mountain between it and the original early large grants by the state of the lower land west of the original proprietor's line of Sheffield, which was sold early in the last century by state commissioners and bought generally by the under mountain farm owners. Boston Corner was never a part of the town and belonged to the state, which sold to various parties in 1804, and was set off to New York in 1853. The south boundary of Egremont, incorporated August 23, 1775, took in all of the Sky Farm and Mr. O. C. Whitbeck's land north of the highway, while Mount Washington, incorporated June 21, 1779, went as far north as Orrin Curtis' house, at the foot of the mountain, or to the north line of the strip known as the "Indian reservation." Mount Washington, the older town, and purchaser from the Indians, alloting the lands and the residents thereon, paying taxes and voting in Egremont until the establishment of the present boundary, June 17, 1817. Since then there has been no change in the town boundaries.

March 29, 1757, a syndicate of forty proprietors purchased the land of the Indians to be divided into forty-eight shares, John Dibble having five, Josiah Loomis, Jacob Loomis three and Benjamin Barney, Jr. and Ichabod Stickwell one half a right, the others one. Following this purchase May 7th, was the culmination of their troubles as stated in the following petition, Volume six, page two hundred forty:

"May 30, 1757, To his Majesties' most Honorable council, the supreme Court of the House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay now sitting at Boston. The humble petition of Jonathan Darby, Andrew Race, Christiana

Hollanbach, Christopher Brasee, Henry Brasee and Simon Burton, humbly Sheweth that the said petitioners were lately Inhabitants but are now sufferers of the Township of Taughconnack through the Tirannical Riotous and murdering proceedings and practices of Capt. Robert Livingston, are obliged to seek shelter and fly for refuge within the known Bounds and Limits of this your province of Massachusetts Bay, for that he the said Livingston did on Saturday, the 7th. of this present May come with a large Banditti and in a most Barberous and inhuman manner pull down and burn and destroy others that the said Livingston had caused or procured to be pulled down sometime ago and also murdered one man, wounded others and took some captive and sent them to prison so that your sd poor petitioners were forced with their wives & children to fly for succor into this your said Province to our Great Loss and almost utter Ruin leaving our Goods Corn Wheat and cattle behind &c."

Signed by

JONATHAN DARBY,

his

ANDREW + RACE.

mark

Two days afterwards, June 1st, 1757, the purchasers organized and chose Jonathan Darby clerk, and proceeded to survey and assign the first division lots or farms; thus beginning the organization of the township on the New England plan under the laws of Massachusetts. The proprietors' records being lost, nothing is known of their doings or troubles for ten years thereafter, when in Volume six, page three hundred seventy-three, of the State Archives we find the following, showing that these contests were still unsettled:

"At a Legal meeting of the Proprietors of the Township of Taughkinnick settled under the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay Regularly Notified and assembled the seventeenth day of December A. D. 1767, voted that William Kellogg be and hereby is authorized to sign an humble Petition to his majesty in council, setting forth our Grievances and humbly Praying that we may be continued or retired to the Jurisdiction of the said Province of Massachusetts Bay or if his majesty should otherwise Determine that the Governor of the Province of New York may be Restrained from Granting any of the Lands upon which we are settled to any Person or Persons whatsoever and that such other Relief may be afforded us as to His majesties great wisdom shall

seem meet and the said William Kellogg is Like wise authorized to Substitute any Person or Persons in our behalf to Prefer the said Petition and to Represent us before his majesty in council."

attest JOHNATHAN DARBY
Proprietors Clerk.

"I do hereby certify That it being made to appear to me That Johnathan Darby was duly chosen clerk of the propriety of the Township called Taukennick. The Said Johnathan was duly Sworn on the first day of June Anno Dom 1757 To the faithful discharge of the duty of his office."

Before me TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE
Justice Peace

Among the numerous petitions in these troublesome times previous to and subsequent to this declaration of independence from the Livingston tenantry system are the following from the Massachusetts unpublished Archives:

Volume six, page one hundred twenty-nine, August 19, 1753. "The testimony of Joseph Pain of a place called Taghkanack of lawful age testefyeth that on the 19th Day of August 1753 it being sabbath or Lords Day 'I being in my own house and sick in my bed their came a man unknown to me and forced open my Door and came in to my house and sat down on a cheast with a sword by his side and I sd Pain desired my dagter to shut the Door and bolt it and as she went to push the Door to the man made attempt to draw his sword and I sd Pain Desired my daghther the second time to shutt the door and bolt it and he drew his sword almost out of his scabard and put his foot to stay her making the door fast and imeditly timothy Connor came in and went to my other Room and my son in Law jeebord Eavery was in bed with one of his children and sd connor sd Git up you devil and sd Eavery sd I wont, stand off then sd connor sd Git up or I will Run my sword in to your ass and sd Eavery sd you will kill my child and emedetly sd connor took hold of him sd Eavery and pulled him out of bed by the sholders and draged him out of the bed room till an other mett him which took hold of sd Eaverys sholder and imedetly the house was filled full of men with swords drawn in their hands and some with pistels in their girdles to the number of about ten men and draged the sd Eavery out of doors into the yard in his shirt this is the truth according to the best of my Remembrance.'

Aug. 4, 1753 JOSEPH PAIN
Sept. 4, 1753 sworn to before DAVID INGERSOLL."

Volume six, page one hundred twenty-eight. "The testemony of cathrean hollenbach of a place called taghknack of Lawfull age testefyeth and saith that she was at the house of Mr. michel hollenbach of taghknack on the 26 day of July 1753 and there came a company of men to michels house with swords and pistels from towards Josiah Loomis and one Doct Huntt was with me and michel said to me and Doct hunt come into the house and their being a double door or in other words the Door was cut in two in the middle and michel shut the under Door towe and when they had goten off their horses they said Good morning and came towards the Door and came upon the stoop of the Door and michel said do not come any nearer to the Door then they took stones and flung against the door michel took a hay fork in his hand and they pleaded to be let in michel said they were come to take him they said that they had nothing against him but they that is the sheriff sd he wanted Loomis which was there michel said Loomis was not their and I said Cathrean also sd that Loomis was not their but they said he was and insisted to come in and swore they had nothing against him the sd michel and they requested that one man might come in and search the house for Loomis and michel at Last gave Liberty that one John Robson might come and no more but Robson Refused to come in and went away and as michel was standing with his fork over the door they got hold of the fork and as they Puled the fork one of the company with a sword cut michel on the back of his hand and michel steped behind the door & took his gun and bid them off or else he would shute and they again pleaded to come in but being Denied the sheriff called for an ax to cut the door down and one of them took a Great stone and flung against the Door which made it tremble and they flung many Great stones against the door and they not making that do they pleaded again to come in swearing they would not medel with said Michel but sarch for Loomis and if he was not their they would be contended and michel said if they would not take him one of them might come in and no one came to come in he was told to climb over the under door the sheriff said that was Robbery but one of them came in and as soon as he was in he clasped michel on the sholder seizing him as his Prisoner and so they all came in and michels two sons was in the chamber and one of the . . . . to the stairs and went up two or three stairs and swore he would shute and cocked his Pistel and it missing fire three times & did not go off.

Sept 4, 1753."

Volume six, page one hundred twenty-six, September 4, 1753. "The testemony of Jacob Spoor of Sheffield being of lawful age testefyeth and saith that on ye 19th Day of august 1753 being sabbath or Lords Day I being at a place called taghnack at the house of Mr. John hollenbach I heard the report of Guns and being told that there was a company of men at Mr. michel hollenbacks house I went to see what was the meaning of the noias and as I was in the Road I meeting with Patrick Megg I shook hands with him and said how Do you Do patrick then I said Patrick will this Do you the sabbath Day and he made answer what I asked him if he could give an account to God for it and he said he could not help it and Rid along I did nothing to interupt them I moved out of the road and one Mr Connar came up to me with his sword in his hand and said what have you to Do to stop or Exemen men on the Kings Road saying Dam you and struck me on the head with his sword and cut through my hat and cap and cut my head so that the blood came out and sd Connar said he would cut off my Ears. I said that was easy for him to Do and I went to make my escape and then their came a company after me with clubs and struck me with the clubs and I tried to make my escape but was seized by some their names I did not know but their was Jocob Dacker and Jacob Wheler and John Robson in the company this is the truth according to the best of my remembrance.

Sept ye 4th 1753 Jacob Spoor.

Sworn to before David Ingersol."

Massachusetts Archives, Book forty-six, page three hundred twenty, November 27, 1753. "Petition praying that your honnours in your Great wisdom and in your wonted Goodness would be Pleased for to setel us in our Persessions or if not for to make a Grant of Land to us in a place to the East of Taghknack and to the west of Sheffield to wit in the mountain where there is a valey of Land Laying betwene two Great mountains and may contain a few famileys Even to that number as to make a small Parish but it will cost a Great Deal of time to make a Road in to the mountain on both side or to Deal with your Poor subjects as in your Great wisdom and wonted Goodness shall think fitt and we your Poor Petitioners as in Duty bound shall Ever Pray.

Dated in Taghknack November ye 27 A D 1753.

LOCATION	
Hughes farm	JOSEPH LOOMIS
	JACOB LOOMIS
Sky farm	GEORGE ROBINSON
O. C. Whitbeck's	JOSEPH ORLCUTT
Taconic farm	JOHN HOLLENBACH
	MICHEL HOLLENBACH."

This was the first petition for incorporation as a town.

Volume six, page one hundred ninety-one, April 14, 1753. "To the Honl Spencer Phips Esq Lieut Gov & commander in chief of the Honl his maj council & house of rep in gen court assembled Apr 22 1755. The memorial & representation of John McArthur Living on the Province land W of Sheffield Humbly shews That on Monday the 14 of Apr inst a considerable number of men armed with guns & swords broke open the house of Jonathan Darby living on the province land and there in a violent & tumultuous manner assaulted Josiah Loomis carried him away to Albany Gaol and on the next day a number of men with swords and fire arms appeared at the house of Joseph Gillet living on sd Land where two of the Ranulews were present broke open his house knocked down his wife took him prisoner & sent him to Albany Gaol. Then the sd Gang proceeded to the house of Jacob Bacon broke open his house & threatened the Life of his wife who was sick in bed & robed the house of sundry things then proceeded to the house of Robert Noble broke it open & stole & carried away sundry valuable things. The next morning about brake of day they assaulted the house of William Race broke it open & as sd William Race war attempting to escape they shot him Dead with a charge of Buck shot. May it please your Honors the case of tha poor people living on sd lands is most distressing they daily expect repeated assaults from Livingston & Ranslaus Banditti which consists of abandoned irishmen & negroes. If your honors do not appear for their relief they are finally dumed. They mive out what they do is agreeable to orders received from the Gov of N. Y. which is humbly Submitted to your Hon wise consideration.

JOHN MCARTHUR."

Volume six, page two hundred twenty-four, Nov. 22, 1756. "To the Honorable Spencer Phips Esq. Leutenant Governor and commander in chief of his majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in Newengland The Honorable council and House of Representatives &c. The petition of Joseph Pain humbly sheweth That he was possessed of a farm in a frontier Town of sd province called Teonick and with Great Expence bought the sd farm too and enjoyed peacable possession for six years then one Mr. Livingston came and Demanded the premises and said that the farm was his and said your petitioner must Give him possession or he would send him Immediately to Gaol soon after he sent a party of men and a sheriff with a writ under pretext of your petitioners Girdling of trees in sd Town and took him and cast him into Albany Gaol and obtained Judgement in a Duck court for 275 pounds damages and costs where your petitioner has lain at his own charge there three years and three months till your petitioner is brought to the Greatest Degree of poverty and the small pox is in the city and neither your petitioner nor his wife ever had it and as he is now seventy years and through the want of the necessities of Life both he, and his wife being upwards of 80 are become Like Skilitons your peti'r Therefore most humbly prays your Honour would vouchafe to consider his miserable circumstances and help him to his liberty that he may have some comfort before he Die and your petitioner as in Duty Bound shall Ever pray.

Albany Gaol November ye 22d 1756.

Who has nothing left. JOSEPH PAIN."

Following these petitions and testimony is this petition in January, 1774, for incorporation:

Volume one hundred eighteen, page eight hundred thirty-five. "To his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson Esq Captain Genl and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay the Honble his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled.

Humbly Shews the subscribers Inhabitants of a tract of Land lying on Taconnocg mountain so called in the County of Berkshire which was granted by the Great and General Court at their last sessions to your Petitioners that they are so Situated that it is and ever will be extremly inconvenient for your Petitioners to have any communication or connection with any Town or District ajoining to Said tract of Land and

that they hay increased in number so as to render it not only convenient but necessary that the said tract of Land & the Inhabitants thereof should be Erected into a Seperate & Distinct Town or District & be invested with all the priviledges and immunities that other Towns and Districts in this province enjoy wherefore they pray that they may be incorporated accordingly or otherwise to do and act thereon as to your Excellency and Honori Shall recommend.

As in Duty Bound Shall Ever pray.

Nathan Benjamin	Charles Patterson	Daniel Dibble
Benjamin Osborn	Abraham Grimes	Allen Sage
Elnathan Hall	John King	Michel Palmer
John Dibell	John Woodin	John Wright
Jonas Osborn	Peter Woodin	Abner Woodin
Philip Roff	Daniel Mead	John Barber
Samuel Dibell	Gilbert Murray	William Campbell"
Thomas Jones	Andrew Patterson	

This was passed in the House to be engrossed June 15th, and the Council concurred on the 17th, but the sudden dissolution of the Assembly on that eventful day prevented its enactment.

In August, 1776, another attempt to procure an act of incorporation was made as follows:

Archives, Volume one hundred eighty-two, page two hundred twenty-one. "To the honllble the Council & House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay

humbly sheweth the Petitioners Inhabitants of a New plantation called Tauconnuck Mountain lying west of Sheffield in the County of Berkshire that your Petitioners have at great Charge & Expense made a Settlement in said new Plantation that the same is situate on the Heighth of a great Mountain and that it is separated from Egremont & Shiffied the only towns to which it Joins by a very long & Steep Precipice & that the Roads communicating between said new Plantation & sd Sheffied & Egremont are at all Times extremely rugged & at some Seasons almost wholly impassible that the Number of Inhabitants are now so great and their circumstances such as to enable them to maintain the expenses attending their Incorporation as a Town or District, that at present they are debarred the Enjoyment of many priviledges attending that state your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honors that said Plantation bounding south on the Line of the Statt of Connecticut west on the Line of the state of

New York, East on the line of sd Sheffield & north on the Line of sd Egremont may be incorporated into a Town or District and as in Duty bound shall pray.

John King	John Wright	Nathan Benjamin
John Dobell	Abraham Grimes	Gilbert Murray
Samuel Dibell	Peter Woodin	Thomas Cade
William Cogswell	Allen Sage	Jacob Hatt
John Woodin	Charles Patterson	Samuel Nickerson
Amos Woodin	Elnathan Hall	Christopher Grimes
Jesse Mead	Daniel Dibell	Phillip Ruff
William Palmer	Allen Sage jr	Ephraim Race
Ara Sparks	Sebah Sage	John Race
John Wright jr	William Campbell	Abijah Woodard
Solomon How	Thomas Jones	Philip Ruff jr
Joseph Robinson	Daniel Porter	John Ruff
Stephen Bangs	Daniel or Samuel	Charles Ovens
Moses Buck	Whistmarsh	Daniel Mead"

On the twenty-ninth of August this petition was referred to a committee of the House, reported and read the second time, but no further action taken. The following spring, March 15, 1777, still another application was made, in a petition by John King and thirty others, "in behalf of themselves and forty-five families, which alleges that they with others purchased the lands in question of the natives some years since, by and with the consent and advice of a committee of the General Assembly," charged with the duty of settling some affairs relative to the lands west of Sheffield; that they had improved the lands, and built roads on to the mountain and from house to house; moreover that they had, "for some years past paid a province rate of support government," and raised their full quota of men for the army, and that they were willing to continue to do their "proportion both of men and money," in case they should be incorporated into a district or town with power to accomplish their objects, and to lay out and repair highways, "and also to take proper care of some persons among us that are unfriendly to the United States of America." The following postscript appearing immediately after the signatures, "as we are on a Great mounten we Desire your honers to give us the Name of Mount Washington."

This petition was referred March 25, 1777, to a committee of the House, but no further action taken.

It will be noticed that these petitions of August, 1776, and March, 1777, are to the Honorable Council and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts, instead of to a captain general or Governor of a province, and that the latter seeks to honor the name of Washington nearly a month previous to the incorporation of our other Washington, east of Pittsfield.

Adams, Hancock and Lee, incorporated during the Revolution, bear distinquished names of that period during which no less than eleven towns in Berkshire county were incorporated.

Owing to the loss of the town records previous to 1792, but little information is to be had of its action from its incorporation in 1779 to 1792, including the Revolution, except that in the petition for incorporation in 1777, the State War records and the following item in the Sheffield records of December 25, 1780: "Voted that the assessors procure a list of the Real and personal estate of Mount Washington [reconsidered] Mr. Robert Campbell and Mr. Jesse Royce having appeared in the meeting and engaged on the part of the town of Mount Washington, of which they are the selectmen, and impowered that the said town shall raise two men and 3100 pounds weight of beef towards the men and beef required by the general court of the town which proportion is acceeded to and the said selectmen have engaged on the part of sd Mount Washington in case sd men and beef on the settlement of the next valuation shall appear to be less than their proportion of men & beef compared with the sd town of Sheffield that they will pay immediately on demand the balance into the treasury of sd Sheffield and John Fellows and Theo Sedgwick Esq. have engaged on the part of Sheffield that if the sd men and beef shall by sd valuation appear to be more than the proportion of sd Mount Washington that they sd Fellows & Sedgwick will immediately on notice thereof pay the balance into the treasury of sd Mount Washington which agreement is ratified by the town."

Among the state lists of Revolutionary soldiers which are uncertain as to localities, I find at least twenty-five who went from this town or one-tenth of the total population at the time, also the following interesting receipt:

Volume nine, page one hundred twenty-two. "I Nicholas Louke hereby acknowledge that I have received of William Campbell committee man of the town of Mount Washington the sum of Sixty three Pounds hard money as an encourage-

ment and inducement to me to enter into the Continental Service for the term of three years to be under the Continental officers that is or shall be appointed. I say received by me this 26 Day of febuary A D 1780 in Presents.

his
NICHOLAS + LOUKE
mark

ROBERT HAXTON
GEORGE CAMPBELL, *Witness.*"

The town paid the state in 1782, one hundred and five pounds towards war expenses.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

Its religious history is somewhat unique and interesting from its location as a border town and with a mixture of the early Dutch tenants of Livingston who were without religious privileges for two generations, except what they could obtain from a long distance. For these reasons and on account of its small population it had no settled minister of the established New England faith and was apparently a mission field for any denomination who might enter. The earliest of record is that of the Methodists, the early records of which were borrowed some years since of Mrs. Linus Melcus by Rev. Merwin R. Lent, then preaching at Copake, and never returned. Of its condition in 1789 Dr. Benjamin Abbott says: "After visiting and preaching in Egremont, I next went to my appointment at Esq. Kings, on Mount Washington and preached to a fine congregation considering the place, and we had a precious time in class, a young man prayed very powerfully and in such a manner that I concluded in my mind he would be a preacher, and so it proved, for he shortly after set out in the work."

In 1791, Rev. John Culver, licensed in 1790, and appointed to the Dutchess circuit, visited and preached here frequently, followed by Lorenzo Dow in 1801, and Billy Hibbard in 1804-5. Earlier than 1789 it is quite probable that the Rev. Simon Dakin, living in the adjoining town of North East in 1773 and previous to John King's removal to Mount Washington from America, a near neighbor and preacher there was invited by King in the early years of his ministry, which he began in 1754-5, to preach in Mount Washington some years earlier than we have any record. John King, born in 1730, and a contributor to the building of a union church in

America for the Congregationalists and Methodists, was probably a Methodist convert previous to his removal in 1757, and must have invited his neighbor Dakin to preach here soon after his removal, and the further fact that he sold his first lot to Joshua Dakin, a son of Simon, in 1779, who with his brother Simon Dakin, Jr., became large land owners here soon after.

John King's house, destroyed a few years ago, stood on the east side of the road to Bear rock, about one-half mile south of the present church. He gave the land for the center cemetery and is buried there. His descendants own and conduct the Fort Edward Methodist boarding-school and Rev. James M. King, another, is or was lately a prominent Methodist clergyman of New York city, and Major King, recently in command of the fortifications of New York harbor, was of that family.

Shakerism.

Ann Lee, the Mother of Shakerism in this country, held some of her first meetings in 1781, at the house of Benjamin Osborn, now owned by Mrs. Spurr and remodeled last year. Her biography says: "Though quite unexpected, [she] was joyfully received. Benjamin, and several of his sons with their wives, and some others in that place and its vicinity, had already embraced the testimony. On hearing of Mother Ann's arrival, the Believers in the neighborhood, also from Livingston's Manor and other places around, gathered here to hear the Word of God. Great labors were made, those who already believed were greatly strengthened in the way of God, and a number of others added to the faith. On the Sabbath following, a large concourse of the world besides many believers attended. Great power of God with much manifestations of the power of the Spirit upon the physical body attended the testimony. * * * * * this was also followed by much opposition. One Dr. Hollebest attempted to dispute with the Elders, but being confounded and put to the blush by Elder James Whittaker, she went and advised the mob to let them alone; so no acts of violence were committed." Benjamin Osborn died in 1787, and his children convey their interests in real estate as residents of Canaan, N. Y.

Baptist meetings were early held at the house of Charles Patterson, now owned by F. B. Schutt, a grandson, and shared with the Universalists, Presbyterians and Methodists in the use of the church and the income from the lease of the minister's lot in the early part of the last century as follows: 1806 voted to build a meeting house and that said house be free for all religious sects not intruding upon each other's appointments. 1818 voted that the minister lot funds due this spring be expended as follows: $1.50 for one discourse or $2.00 for two discourses delivered in one day at the meeting house on the sabbath or Lord's Day of every denomination that is requested to preach and chose Capt. Isaac Lamson, Jeremiah Dibble and Comfort Sparks to be a committee to see to the expenditures.

1819 voted to pay the same as last year for preaching and to divide it as follows: 1st Sabbath in each month to the Methodists; 2nd to the Presbyterians; 3rd to the Baptists; 4th to the Universalists, beginning the 1st Sabbath in May. The residue of the year Methodists 1st Sabbath in Nov, Presbyterians 3rd, Baptists 1st in Dec. Universalists 3rd and on every other Sabbath through the year.

I find no record of any Baptist or Presbyterian or Universalist church organization. There was a Congregational church organized October 31, 1831, at the old meeting house which stood at the west end of the cross-road leading west from the present church, by the Rev. Sylvester Bart of Great Barrington, Rev. James Bradford of Sheffield and Rev. Gardner Hayden of Egremont, with twenty-four members. But owing to deaths, removals and other causes became extinct in a few years.

After the tearing down of the old church sometime previous to 1850, services were held in the center school house which stood on the ground recently added to the center cemetery.

About 1866, efforts were begun by Rev. Winthrop H. Phelps, then preaching here and at Egremont, which resulted in the erection and dedication of the present church building, November 24, 1869, at a cost of two thousand seven hundred dollars, by the people of the town and their friends elsewhere. Rev. Nahum Gale of Lee furnished the pulpit and had the church painted, and Mr. VanDyke, assistant United States Treasurer, a boarder, gave the bell. At the dedication almost the entire population of the town were present, coming in sleighs. Dr. Gale preached the sermon and Mr. Phelps made the prayer.

December 11th, 1874, the present church was organized with thirteen members and is still in a flourishing condition. At times when preachers could be obtained having services through the year, but of late, with a small population, only for five or six months paying our pastors fourteen dollars per sermon instead of one dollar and a half.

Mills and Manufactures.

Mount Washington early had the grist and saw mill necessary to the building and maintenance of a town, having two or more of each about 1760, and possibly a third grist mill at Bashbish falls.

Abner Woodin of Mount Washington, probably a son of Peter Woodin the first owner of the city grist mill, made the first iron at Mount Riga in Salisbury and in company with Jesse Roys built the first dams there.

During the war of 1812-15, ———— Way of Hillsdale, had a tannery on the Bashbish brook, and William Murray a saw mill above the falls about 1822, which George H. Ives, who built the Berkshire House at Great Barrington, afterwards purchased and erected tenements and a school house about 1850, succeeded by ———— Powy, during whose ownership a heavy freshet on the streams carried one of the houses over the falls and ended the business there.

About 1836 a tannery was in operation on Huckleberry brook and at the city, but the culmination of manufacturing in Mount Washington was that of John D. Joyce. Beginning with a blacksmith shop near the Dewey Melius barn he moved to the city, so called, in Mount Washington, about 1821, and enlarged his business so as to include a forge and trip hammer, making and repairing all kinds of agricultural implements, harpoons for Hudson whalers, ox chains, and the large chains and tires for raising and hauling the immense blocks of marble from the Goodale quarry in Egremont to Hudson for Giraud college. In this business he employed some twenty men previous to his removal to Salisbury in 1845, where he continued in business until 1857, when he sold to his son David.

Celebration on Mount Everett.

July 4, 1824, one of the most enjoyable celebrations ever held in Berkshire County was on the summit of Mount Everett. In the early morning there was a severe thunder shower

accompanied by hail but soon after the sun shone forth in unclouded splendor and the inhabitants of Mount Washington and the adjoining towns began the ascent to the summit where flags were planted in the various crevices of the rocks, a large liberty pole erected and tables were set with refreshments in abundance. A cannon of considerable size was hauled up and salutes from that and guns frequently fired.

Norman Hicox, a noted wit and public speaker of Sheffield, weighing upwards of three hundred and fifty pounds, was to deliver the address. His route from Sheffield was up the east side of the mountain. He became exhausted before reaching the summit and the address was delivered by Charles Patterson, a resident, followed by Rev. Ebenezer Lamson, a Baptist chaplain in the Revolution. Mr. Lamson, although eighty-three years of age, spoke for a long time with much vigor of his revolutionary experiences, interspersed with anecdotes and songs of the Revolution. He died just ten years after on July 4th, 1834, aged ninety-three.

Among those who attended and spoke of it as one of the most enjoyable celebrations they ever attended was the late Ralph Taylor of Great Barrington, who went on horseback with General Ives and gave me the above account. It was probably intended to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of their incorporation which as before stated required only the signature of the Colonial governor.

Williams Academy, Stockbridge, Mass.

By ARTHUR J. CLOUGH

WILLIAMS ACADEMY, STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

The educational life of Stockbridge began with its incorporation as a town. When the citizens of the new town arrived, the school came along with them. For when the General Court paved the way by granting the scattered Indians permission to live together in a township six miles square, comprising W-nahk-tu-kook, or the great meadow, the people came in a body, as in later years people have rushed into a new territory the moment that the Government has given the permission.

The first settlers were Indians, and it is certainly unique, to say the least, that for many years they were the favored ones in educational matters, while their more pale-faced brothers either patronized their schools or lived without such an institution.

The mission to the Stockbridge was started in Great Barrington. Funds had been given "for the promotion of the gospel in Foreign Parts" into the hands of Commissioners at Boston. This Board of Commissioners, made up of seven persons, with Governor Belcher as chairman, appointed a committee to select a suitable person to take charge of the mission, and John Sergeant, then a tutor at Yale College, was appointed with a salary of one hundred pounds. The mission was established in October, 1734, but in May of the next year the Indians moved to Stockbridge, "The Great Meadow North of the Mountain," and as the town was incorporated in 1739, the town, the people, the school and the church commenced life nearly at one and the same time.

The first school-house in Stockbridge was built by the Indians on the Great Barrington road near Konkapot Brook, close by Captain Konkapot's dwelling. In 1736 Mr. Sergeant in company with a number of the Stockbridge Indians, visited Boston, at the request of Governor Belcher, and waited upon the Governor, and after giving and receiving presents, asked assistance from the legislature in the erection of a church and school-house. The Governor promised to lay their request before the General Court. He did so, and upon his suggestion, funds were granted for the erection of the buildings. In November, 1739, the church was first opened for

worship. The people of Boston presented to the Stockbridge Church a conch shell, just brought from the East Indies, and it was one of the articles at the annual town meeting to appropriate funds for sweeping the house and blowing the shell. When the Indians left Stockbridge the shell was given with a belt of wampum to Captain Josiah Jones. The belt of wampum was carried off by Shay's men when they plundered the town in 1787, but the conch after passing through several hands has found a resting place in Jackson Square Library, where it may still be seen, and would no doubt do as effective service as in mission days, provided a suitable pair of lungs could be found to operate the instrument. The conch was always blown by an Indian and was reported to be of immense size and incapable of being operated upon by any one save an Indian, but there is evidence that it was once used by a woman in the humble but honorable service of a farmer's dinner-horn.

The Bible used in the church and probably in the school, for the two were very closely connected, (there being no sharp distinction between church and state), was presented by Dr. Francis Ayscough of London, Clerk of the Courts, and First Chaplain to the Prince of Wales. Upon a fly-leaf was written, "Presented by Dr. Ayscough to Rev. John Sergeant, Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians in that vast wilderness called New England."

As evidence of the work accomplished in the Indian School, a writer in the Boston Post Boy in September, 1739, says, "I have lately visited my friend in Stockbridge and am well pleased to find the Indians so improved, but I was in special gratified to find them improved in learning. Several of them have made good proficiency and can read in their Bibles, and some can write a good hand." And we find that the Indians were chosen for public offices along with the white men, as selectmen, constables and surveyors of highways. A notable fact in connection with Indian education was the interest given to the work by a great many people of the mother country. Rev. Isaac Hollis of London supported twelve Indian boys at twenty-five pounds each, and Samuel Holderness, Esq., of London gave one hundred pounds for the work, and when the Rev. Mr. Sergeant wished a boarding school to be organized, a subscription paper was circulated in London, and among other subscriptions were the following: His Royal Highness Prince of Wales, twenty guineas; The Lord Chancellor, The Duke of Dorset and the Lord Gower, each five guineas. The inhabitants of Stockbridge took up a

collection on Thanksgiving Day of one hundred fifteen pounds and ten shillings. Two hundred acres of unimproved lands were taken, and the first boarding school in western Massachusetts came into existence. Ultimately it had an attendance of sixty pupils.

Mr. Sergeant died at the early age of thirty-nine and was unable to carry out the educational work that he had planned, which included among other things the establishment of a girls' boarding school, which should provide a broad and systematic education, not only in books but also in all departments of household economy. After the death of Mr. Sergeant, the school was continued with varying success for a brief period, under the direction of Jonathan Edwards, Mr. Woodbridge and others, but it had reached its highest point of success, and in a few years the Indians moved from Stockbridge and settled in New Stockbridge, New York, which perhaps at that time did not have any very definite boundaries, but is now a small town in Madison County.

This brief description of the first educational system in Stockbridge is necessary to show that a zeal and love for education was born with the town, and the people were awakened to the necessity of establishing English schools at a very early date, through remarkably conscientious and skillful teachers in the mission school of the Stockbridge Indians. We may rightly consider the Indian school the forerunner and beginner of an educational vigor which has always characterized the inhabitants of this beautiful and historic town.

In 1760, six pounds, six shillings, was voted for the establishment of an English school. Four years later there were two such schools, and in 1799 the school at the center was graded, that is, the younger pupils were placed on the lower floor, the older and more advanced on the upper floor, and in 1828 the higher department was incorporated as Stockbridge Academy, and Major and Rev. Jared Curtis became the first principal. In 1833 another building was constructed, which now forms a part of the present school building. In 1842 the name was changed to Williams Academy in honor of Cyrus Williams, who gave three thousand dollars as a beneficiary fund, which still yields an income of about two hundred and fifty dollars annually for the support of the school. In 1866 the Academy fund was turned over to the town and the school assumed the title of the Stockbridge High School and Williams Academy. The Academy Corporation still maintains an existence, meeting at least once every year. It nominally elects the principal by ratifying the choice of the school committee.

It is easy to see how the present High School is the natural development of Williams Academy, Stockbridge Academy, the District Schools, and they in turn to the educational atmosphere created by men like Sergeant, Edwards, Woodbridge and West, who labored so faithfully to help the Indians make the most of themselves mentally and spiritually.

Beginning with Stockbridge Academy, the following teachers have been employed as principals: Jared Curtis, Jonathan Cutler, Mark Hopkins, Elijah Whitney, Rufus Townsend, J. M. Howard and Julius A. Fay. It was under Mr. Fay's jurisdiction and largely by his efforts that a new building was erected, and at the same time the name was changed to WilliamsAcademy. Principals in Williams Academy were Marshall Warner, Henry Carter, Edward W. B. Canning, Daniel Kimball, Rev. Mr. Dole, Mr. Foss and E. B. Paddock.

Mr. Jared Curtis, who was the pioneer Academy pedagogue, afterwards became chaplain of the State Prison at Charlestown. Mr. Marshall Warner and Mr. Henry Carter each had private schools, and Rev. Mark Hopkins afterwards gained a world-wide reputation as President and afterwards Professor at Williams College. He made an impress on many lives, the value of which can never be estimated. President Garfield summed it up in a few words when he said that a pine log with Mark Hopkins at one end and himself at the other was University enough for him. He published lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, Miscellaneous Essays and Discourses, Lectures on Moral Science, Law of Love, Love as Law, and an Outline Study of Man. As these subjects indicate, he was especially charmed with logical and metaphysical subjects. A good account of his life and works can be found in Perry's History of Williamstown.

In this connection, a brief account of the life of Edward W. B. Canning must be of interest. He was born at Gill, Massachusetts, November 8, 1803, graduated at Williams, class of '34. Soon after graduation he went to Wheeling, West Virginia and engaged in teaching as Principal of the Wheeling Institute. He settled in Stockbridge in 1840 and became Principal of Williams Academy, a position he held till 1854. In that time he brought the school to a very high standing, and made his personality felt in all lines of educational work. He afterwards established a private school, which he continued for four years. As a teacher he was conspicuous for thorough work and gentle manners, and the ability to inspire his pupils with ambition and a thirst for knowledge. One of his pupils, now a professor in Illinois College, wrote of his

former teacher with these words: "Coming to Williams Academy from one of the outlying districts, Mr. Canning surprised me one day by saying as he placed his hand on my shoulder, 'I believe it is your duty to go up,' this was his way of prescribing a course at Williams College. In due time I called his Alma Mater my own, which I never should have done, had it not been for his sympathy and encouragement and assistance. Socially, intellectually and morally his life was an inspiration in kindling in his pupils a love of the good, the beautiful, and the true." Many others have expressed themselves in a similar vein, and one pupil remarked "I have never seen one of Mr. Canning's pupils who had not a very warm place in his heart for his beloved teacher."

He was elected to the legislature in 1859 where he served his town with faithfulness and ability. From 1861 to 1865 he was Deputy Collector at the port of Boston, where he no doubt carefully attended to weights and measures as years before Nathaniel Hawthorne had done in the same place. As this was the period of the Civil War, Mr. Canning working at the seat of Customs, and living under the shadow of Fanueil Hall and Bunker Hill, was fired with true fervor and zeal for humanity and the question of the colored man's burden was a problem that he desired to see solved at a very early period, and the solution of which he watched all through his life, and no work ever interested him more deeply than that of General Armstrong or Hampton. He was again called to take charge of the Academy from 1866 to 1870. At this time it was the Stockbridge High School and Williams Academy. He was always deeply interested in the schools, and after he had left them as a teacher, he liked to visit them and listen to the classes, and his visits were an inspiration and help both to teachers and to pupils, and both alike were pleased to see him enter the room. He never tried to show the little knowledge of the pupil, but by some question asked or thought added would help the pupil to enjoy the lesson, and find some new way of looking at a many-sided subject.

He was one of the originators of the Laurel Hill Association, the Village Improvement Society, which has been the parent of a great many similar societies in different parts of our country. The Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society was organized largely through his efforts, and he was Vice-President at the time of his death. He was an enthusiastic student of local history, and he has brought to light many

historical facts that might otherwise, for a long time, have remained in darkness, and possibly never have been discovered. He was an active member of the Housatonic Agricultural Society and always served on committees and in other ways.

Mr. Canning was very versatile with his pen, and has written a great many articles for the County papers, all of which show his scholarship and ability, and give proof that his researches extended in many directions. He has written a history of Stockbridge for two Berkshire publications, and for the Historical Society papers on John Brown and the Stockbridge Indians. Many poems from his pen give evidence of his poetical nature and the fine strung tension of his nerves. These poems, which are numerous, have never been collected, and it is very difficult to find them. They consist of Odes, Dedication Hymns, Sonnets, Descriptive and Historical Poems. Some of the more noted ones are the lines on the Indian skull which Miss Catherine Sedgwick says was unearthed in her yard and pronounced by school master Canning, learned in skulls, to be one of a female Indian. It is written in the nature of an apostrophe, and is full of pathos and tender feeling. His poem on the Old Tree which stood near the present location of the Episcopal Church, upon which notices of articles lost and found were posted, also notices of amusements to take place. The poem represent the tree as a veritable village newspaper. A poem entitled "To the Relics of my British Grenadier," suggested by a skull which Mr. Canning had in his possession, that had been found near Lake George, has a true poetic ring and the sentiments expressed touch the deepest chords of the human heart. The first verse runs as follows:

Strange bivouac, old Grenadier,
Thou in my quiet study here
Hast found at last;
While I, who life's campaign begun
When thou for forty years hadst done,
Patrol the past.

In a poem delivered before the Alumni Association of Williams College, he gives the history of the organization of the college, extols the patriotism exhibited by the pupils and graduates, and tells the story of the founding of missions and the haystack, concerning which the poem thus reads:

> Together from yon halls go forth,
> To seek the meadows on the north,
> Five noble and heroic men,
> (Heaven grant their glorious like again.)
> With glowing heart and willing hand,
> And Mills, the hero, leads the band.
> Of kindred souls and purpose one,
> Unused stern duty's call to shun,
> Retired around the new-mown hay,
> They go to counsel and to pray,
> And ask with hearts devoted true,
> What wilt Thou, Lord, have us to do?
> There hold they converse sweet and long,
> There form they deep resolves and strong,
> And, (so to faith 'tis given)
> The prophets angels host was there
> Unseen amid the charmed air,
> That gushing forth of soul to bear,
> On joyful wing to Heaven.

And a little farther on:

> Oh Mills! 'tis not my humble lays,
> Can truly celebrate thy praise,
> Thou hast a tongue in every clime,
> And in the voice of latest time,
> Thy record shall go down.
> Pagans redeemed around the throne,
> Attest the triumphs thou hast won,
> And gem thy starry crown.

And the poem closes as follows:

> Dear Alma Mater, long as stand
> Like pillars of our native land,
> These everlasting hills,
> Thy grateful children shall proclaim
> In every clime thy growing fame
> And deathless glory gild the name
> Of Williams and of Mills.

Mr. Canning was very pleasant in conversation and enjoyed hearing and telling a good story, and a story heard never lost anything of interest when he repeated it. His stories not only enlivened conversation, but always pointed out some good principle of life to be aimed at, or some evil tendency to be avoided. For example, to show that the human heart remembers favors and returns the same with interest, he used to tell the following story that was told to his father Josiah W. Canning, of the class of 1803. In the class that graduated at Williams in 1806, was a nephew of President Fitch, G. H. Backus by name. He was poor, and most of his expenses were met by his uncle, who could ill afford to do so in justice to his other creditors. On taking leave of his uncle at Commencement, young Backus thanked his uncle for the favors bestowed upon him, and promised that, if he were able, he would repay the same. He became a successful lawyer in Richmond, Virginia. Twenty years afterwards at nightfall, he appeared in Bloomfield, N. Y., where Mr. Fitch was then living as pastor of the Presbyterian church, and after inquiring of his uncle concerning his indebtedness, several notes and the mortgage deed of the house, all held by persons in the vicinity were sorrowfully produced and allowed to lie on the table during the night. Mr. Backus rose early in the morning, took the papers, and started out for a walk around the village, when he returned, he took some papers from his pocket and said to his aunt and uncle, "There is every note you owe paid, every debt receipted and the mortgage on your house cancelled. In the bank of the neighboring town, I shall place two thousand dollars, the interest of which you shall have as long as either of you live, when it shall revert to me. President Fitch told the above to Mr. Canning's father, and he in turn to his son, by whom it has been preserved for future generations.

By such pleasing stories, by the warm grasp of his hand, by his deep interest in all matters of public and private life, and by his clear judgment, good scholarship and deep insight into past and present history, and his fondness for study, and above all by his true, sincere Christian character, Mr. Canning was a most helpful and genial friend and a very useful citizen. He inspired the youth to their best endeavor, in public and private life, was honest, sincere and true, and served his fellow-men most faithfully, and always tried to assist others to lead sincere, moral and Christian lives and lay up for themselves treasures that would endure.

He died August 11th, 1890, at the age of seventy-seven years. Since his death his old pupils have raised a monument to his memory which now stands over his remains in the Stockbridge cemetery, and bears this inscription:

EDWARD W. B. CANNING

TO HIM

THIS DESERVED MEMORIAL OF HIS VIRTUE AS A MAN

HIS USEFULNESS AS A CITIZEN

AND HIS FIDELITY AS A TEACHER

IS DEDICATED BY

HIS LOVING AND GRATEFUL PUPILS

Of teachers of recent years: Benjamin M. Hill was for many years principal of a large school at Youngstown, Ohio; Frank E. Parlin is Superintendent of Schools near Boston; and Samuel Tracy Livingston (who taught in the Grammar Department) entered the ministry and preached for a few years, and is now one of the professors at Williams College.

Considering the size of Stockbridge, there have been an unusual number of noted men connected with this school. The fact that of the four members, who composed the first graduating class at Williams, three were from Stockbridge, and the other just over the line in Lenox shows the ambition of the youth for a classical education.

Of those who have been associated with the Academy, we may mention Miss Catherine Sedgwick, whose life and letters gained the recognition of the highest intellects of our land and foreign lands as well; Rev. Henry M. Field, D. D., editor of the Evangelist and author of many works of travel; William Pitt Palmer, who has written a great many hymns and poems all of which have become popular; Mrs. Susan Teal Perry, a writer of children's stories and also poetry, nearly all of her contributions have appeared in the Evangelist; Ralph Hoffman, whose scientific researches into animal and plant life have been collected in supplementary reading books for young children, and also works on the same subject for older readers. This last year in company with one of the professors at Harvard, he made investigations in our own county and has lectured on Edible Foods and the varied phenomena of plant and animal life.

A great many business men, graduates of the school, have achieved marked success, but one, Cyrus West Field, has gained a world-wide reputation. At the age of fifteen he was a clerk in New York, a few years later he was at the head of a large mercantile establishment and while in this work he conceived the idea of stretching a cable across the Atlantic ocean. Many thought him foolish or insane, but he accomplished the undertaking. Congress voted him a gold medal in recognition of this service to the world, and at the Paris Exposition the highest prize given was conferred upon him for the distinguished service to mankind.

Stephen D. Field, an electrical engineer, was the first to apply dynamo-electric machines to the generation of electricity for the working of telegraph lines. He did this first in the west, where he was living, but in 1879, he introduced it in the building of the Western Union Telegraph Company in New York, thereby displacing sixty tons of batteries. He invented a quadruplex which can be extended into a sextuplex or an octuplex. He also invented an electric motor which antedates that of Edison in America, or of Liemens in Germany. After a careful investigation at the Patent Office, the patent was given to him as being the first to introduce an instrument which is now used so extensively.

Of those who have gained military honors and distinctions are Brigadier-General Marcus P. Miller, the hero of Ilioilo in the late war. From Williams Academy he went to West Point and there graduated in 1857. He was at once sent to the western frontier to take part in Indian affairs. He served all through the Civil war and for bravery and distinguished service was advanced rapidly from Brevet Commissioner and Captain, through the several offices of Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier-General.

He has now returned to Stockbridge to make the home of his youth his home for the remainder of his days, and has leased "Konkapot," the house that belonged to Mr. Canning, his former teacher. General Miller said, after he had signed the lease, that he was highly pleased to live in the home of his old teacher, that for all the success or honor that he had gained in life, he was indebted to his teacher, Mr. Canning.

Colonel James Dwight, General Thomas Holt and Lieutenant Charles Webster, now of the United States Navy, have been members of the Academy, and one of her bravest sons, who was among the first to go to the front, was Corporal

James W. Clary. He was captured by the Confederates and put in Libby Prison for six weeks, when he was transferred to Andersonville, where he died. Two years ago, when the "Grand Army of the Republic" sent a committee to the south to look after the graves of Union soldiers that they might be duly honored by decoration, his grave was discovered. 11,670 was the recorded number.

Of teachers, we may mention Prof. Charles L. Goodrich, now at Hampton; Prof. H. W. Nelligan of Illinois College; and Miss Sarah Neal Curtis, one of the brightest pupils of the Academy, who became Superintendent of Schools in Illinois, while a good many have taken charge of Common schools or have become assistants in other institutions. In speaking of the Common or District schools, it is worthy of mention that Mr. John Kirkland, afterwards President of Harvard College, gained his first experiences as a teacher in the District schools of Stockbridge.

Several of the graduates have entered the ministry, among them Rev. George A. Boynton, settled in South Boston. Rev. Henry M. Field, D. D., who had charges at St. Louis and West Springfield, but has devoted the larger part of his life to journalism and the writing of books of biography, history and travel. Rev. I. A. Rodgers of Hartford, Connecticut, Rev. Theodore L. Byington, Rev. S. C. Hyde and others.

The medical profession has also claimed a share of Williams Academy pupils, and many of the practising physicians of Berkshire County have at some time been connected with the old school, while others have gone into other states and communities to exercise the healing art, and act the good Samaritan to many an unfortunate brother.

The legal profession has obtained some of its brightest lights from this same old institution. Judge Theodore Sedgwick, who was interested in all things pertaining to the development of Stockbridge, and consequently in its educational life, had the honor of being the first advocate of a suit for freedom brought by a slave under the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. Eliza Freeman, locally known as Mum Bet, was born a slave in New York, and when six months old, was purchased by Colonel Ashley of Sheffield. In his family she grew up under a mistress of no very gentle temper. A sister of Mum Bet, living in the same family, one day incurred the displeasure of her mistress, and was struck at with a fire shovel. Mum Bet, in her defense of her sister, received the blow upon her own arm, receiving a wound, the scar of which she carried to her grave. She at once left the

house and could not be persuaded to return. Colonel Ashley had recourse to law and Mr. Sedgwick took Mum Bet's part, and pleaded the Massachusetts Bill of Rights with such force that he obtained a verdict in her favor. His later positions when judge were all in the same line. He claimed: that the law of nature should be the law of the land; that no man could hold legitimate property in the person of another; and that a contract made on the coast of Africa was a *malum per se*, and void as against the law of God, and that no action upon such a contract could be sustained at common law in Massachusetts.

Theodore Sedgwick, his son, one of the patrons of Stockbridge Academy, inherited the same opinions in regard to slavery. He advocated Free Trade, Temperance and Anti-Slavery. He was a member of the Legislature in 1824, 1825 and 1827, and carried through a bill for a railroad across the mountains from Boston to Albany. He published "Hints to My Countrymen" and "Private Economy," illustrated by observations made in Europe.

Theodore Sedgwick, son of the latter, a pupil of Williams Academy, practised law in New York, and was the author of several books, one of which, a "Treatise on the Measure of Damages," first appeared in 1847, and the fifth edition was published in 1869.

David Dudley Field, one of the commissioners for codifying the laws of the State of New York in 1873, presented his "Outlines of an International Code," and in the same year he formed at Brussels an International Association for the reform and codification of the laws of nations and was elected president.

Jonathan E. Field, who had the honor never given to any before him of being elected president of the State Senate for three consecutive terms, and the reason given was, that his impartiality, courteous manners and dignity made him popular with all parties.

Stephen Field and Henry Brown, both members of the United States Supreme Court.

In calling to mind the distinguished sons and daughters of Williams Academy, we must not forget Nathan Jackson, who offered the town two thousand dollars for a Public Library, provided it would raise one thousand dollars. The offer came during the Civil War period, when the people had pinched themselves severely to defray necessary expenses and show their loyalty, but they raised more than twice the sum asked for, and in 1864, thanks to a Williams Academy

boy, the library opened with three thousand volumes upon its shelves, another patron of the Academy, Hon. J. Z. Goodrich, presenting a beautiful building. The library preserves the name of its founder, being called "Jackson Square Library," and through the interest and efforts of many sons and daughters of Williams, and other interested and patriotic citizens, has become an exceedingly helpful institution, and now numbers nearly eight thousand volumes, and has a large subscription list of papers and magazines for the reading room.

Several missionaries have been sent out from Stockbridge, who have either been members of the Academy or deeply interested in its welfare. We can mention Rev. Cyrus Byington, missionary to the Choctaw Indians; Rev. Josiah Brewer to Turkey and Greece; Mrs. Catherine Watson Webb, sent to the Burmese mission; Mrs. Catherine Sergeant DeForest, missionary to Beirut; Mrs. Sarah Perry Powers, to Persia; Mrs. Susan J. Johnson, to Choctaw Indians; Miss Rose Sears, now living in Pittsfield, to South Africa; Mrs. James Darwin, formerly Miss Mary E. Fairchild, connected with the Home Office of the Presbyterian Board of Missions in New York. On account of its representatives, and from monthly missionary concerts at which teachers of the Academy and others who have been students at the Academy take part by reviewing the work in prominent fields, there has always been a deep missionary spirit manifested in the community.

Miss Emma Walker, an Academy pupil, became the wife of General S. C. Armstrong, who did such noble work at Hampton for the Indian and the colored race, and in this work he was always grandly assisted and encouraged by his devoted and earnest wife. It is not to be wondered at that General Armstrong loved Berkshire County and especially Stockbridge, for it gave him sympathy, encouragement and assistance in a generous manner, equalled by no other community of the same population, and we may be sure that the reason may be ascribed in part to his helpmeet being a true daughter of Berkshire, yes a loyal daughter of old Williams Academy.

By this review we begin to realize what the Academy known first as "Stockbridge" and afterwards as "Williams" has been to our country and particularly to Massachusetts. Many of those who have been associated with the school either as patrons, teachers or pupils by their inventions and labors have benefited the world, while others have gained honors and distinctions in a more restricted sphere.

The school is still going on, and keeping pace with the educational life of the times. It is under the direction of Mr. Alfred Rogers, who is its Principal and also Superintendent of the schools of the town. The school is still sending pupils to Williams and other colleges, and fitting others for good citizenship, either as farmers, mechanics or merchants. But in these days of graded institutions perhaps pupils are more machine-made than in the Academy days when the personality of the teacher necessarily made itself a very strong factor. Such institutions as the Williams Academy at Stockbridge, and its neighbor the Lenox Academy, have filled a place in the educational world that few schools of to-day can surpass. They have produced not only graduates, but men and women of high and noble purposes, who have put their Heaven-born ideas and impulses into glorious action. Shall we not say that this educational life and vigor was fostered and nourished by the strong personality of the teachers and guardians of the youth? Shall we not believe that such men as Sargeant, Woodbridge and Edwards, as they spent their lives in the education and uplifting of the strong men of the forest, were also paving the way for a good, sound, honest educational life, which ultimately took root and sprung up and bore fruit? If we are to know a tree by its fruits, must we not place a very high estimate upon the plant which has flourished in goodly soil for so many years, and sent forth to legislative halls and to other places of trust and responsibility so many noble men and women to serve and benefit their countrymen? Shall we not say that the Academy situated in the beautiful valley at the foot of Laurel Hill, the scene of many noted gatherings, where men have counselled, not for gain or profit, but for beauty and order, and about half a mile from the shaft which marks the resting place of many of the Stockbridge Indians, erected in large measure by Academy pupils, in view of its forerunners and founders, in view of its earnest teachers, and its noted pupils has demonstrated very clearly that a school without a very large endowment, but with true, honest souls at the helm, may stand for all that is lofty in purpose and ideals, and noble in character?

Old Indian Fordway.

By L. E. MUNSON

OLD INDIAN FORDWAY.

Mr. President of the Berkshire Historical Society,
Ladies of Great Barrington,

Fellow Citizens:—

An invitation as a Connecticut member of the Society came to me to meet with you on this occasion, and to prepare a brief paper on the "Old Indian Fordway" across the Housatonic river, and the Major Talcott incident of 1676. Considerations somewhat personal prompted my acceptance.

I was born in this town eighty-two and a half years ago, and for near a generation of years spent my youthhood amid these lofty mountains and fertile valleys, drinking into my being the inspiration of life-giving energies in my surroundings. I have always been interested in everything pertaining to the interests of the town, and should have been here without special invitation.

This is old "Home Week" and its scattered sons and daughters, like "Pilgrims to Mecca," come back to the fountain head, to pay their vows at the shrine of youthful anticipations, to meet the greetings of old friends, to gather into our being renewed energies of youthful anticipations, to witness the markings of the town in its uplift in education, art, culture, beauty and business facilities, which have brightened the skies in the past, and enliven hopes for the future. It is not the province of my paper to travel over the history of the town and county, so faithful in detail, and accurate in statement has it been gathered up by your own eminent historian, Charles I. Taylor, and others, till the library shelves bend with information free for the asking.

This "fordway incident" has had a confused location in the mind of readers, owing to the fact that early writers located it in the town of Sheffield, when Sheffield embraced the present territory of this town which was set off in the division of 1761, and incorporated under the name of Great Barrington. This removes the uncertainty and gives it a home place here. The town accepts the trust and will preserve

its identity. It was a happy thought well executed by the patriotic ladies of the town to restore to the pages of living history its exact location, and to mark the spot by a suitable monument. There is no distinctive feature of this fordway in itself, or in its surroundings calling for public recognition as disconnected from the event of August, 1676; but with that event, this marker is brought into association with Lexington and Bunker Hill in the nation's history. It will stand on the banks of this beautiful river beneath the shadows of these mountains, while the waters of the river flow to the sea. It will be a perpetual school teacher without vacations, instructing the youth and the aged of an event long since passed beyond the memory of all living witnesses, now rescued and restored to certainty in the historic interests of the town.

This fordway was a favorite crossing place and encampment for Indians in their travels to and from Massachusetts and Connecticut to the Hudson River, and on to the Mohawk valley. It was at one of these encampments, when surprised by Major John Talcott, at the head of Connecticut troops, and were punished for their long list of bloody deeds. Just how many Indians passed over the exit line into happy hunting grounds to rest from their cruel work, is not definitely known, but tradition says twenty-five were killed, twenty wounded, and many taken prisoners, while the rest escaped and arrived at the Hudson river near Albany in a demoralized condition over the loss of their fighting bucks, from which the tribe never recovered.

At the time of which we speak, the whole country was in a state of unrest by reason of Indian massacres. King Philip's Indian war terrorized Massachusetts, and the Pequots dominated Connecticut and paralized her industries. They were fierce, cruel, treacherous, blood-thirsty, and threatened extinction of the whole white race in their surroundings. The white man had not only to "earn his bread by the sweat of his brow," but to earn it in jeopardy of his life, with musket in one hand, and hoe in the other, with threatened extinction of crops before maturity.

It is recorded that an Indian chief said: "I shall go to war to revenge the death of my brethren; I shall kill; I shall exterminate; I shall burn my enemies; I shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, drink their blood; I shall tear off their scalps and make cups of their skulls."

The hero of this gathering, Major John Talcott, belonged to a family of the best English stock, which for generations was much honored in the early history of New England. His grandfather came to this country with Rev. Thomas Hooker in 1632, was one of the wealthiest of the founders and original proprietors of Hartford, and for him the first house was erected on the present site of Hartford. He was one of the chief magistrates of the Colony, and was styled "The Worshipful Mr. John Talcott."

As a brief illustration of the high character and prominence of the Talcott family, I will only state that his son was the famous Governor, Joseph Talcott, who was Governor of Connecticut seventeen years until his death—a longer term than any successor. He governed with such great ability that Henry Cabot Lodge in his "Short History of English Colonies in America" makes special reference to Talcott's "long term" as Governor, stating, among other commendatory facts, that he "carried on a steady, frugal government which was probably one of the best the world has ever seen." Major Talcott succeeding to the inheritance, was a person of marked distinction in the affairs of men, was successful in offices held by his father, commander-in-chief of its armies, and was one of the Patentees named in the Charter of King Charles the Second, granted to Connecticut, April 20, 1662, and which was hid in the Charter Oak in Hartford.

At the breaking out of Indian wars, which threatened extermination of the white race in New England, Major Talcott resigned the office of Treasurer of the Colony, (which he held sixteen years), was appointed to the command of Connecticut troops, entered into the gage of battle, and obtained renown as an "Indian fighter." Palfrey in his history of New England, styles him "the indefatigable Major Talcott" and states that he "was appointed Commander-in-Chief." He fought many battles at the head of his troops in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and was always victorious.

Fiske in his "Beginnings of New England" (page 234), states that: "In four sharp fights in the last week of June, Major Talcott, of Hartford, slew from 300 to 400 warriors being nearly all that were left of the Narragansetts."

If time permitted I might quote many historical authorities concerning Major Talcott's public services. He bore a charmed life, free from the touch of bullet, arrow or tomahawk in the field or from ambush. Learning of the passage westward of two hundred or more Indian warriors from near Westfield, at the head of his troops he took their

trail and for three days marched through the wildnerness, over mountains, through waters, overtook them in encampment at this fordway, and surprised them with a morning baptism of blood, from which many knew of no awakening. This was probably the first historic blood shed in this locality, leading up to and in aid of the revolutionary period. This event, so long resting in unmarked locality, is now given an assured position in the history of the town, and today, with uncovered head, makes its first appearance in public.

There is much of blended history in common between Massachusetts and Connecticut interwoven into national history.

This boulder, standing between the northern boundary of Massachusetts and the southern boundary of Connecticut, though mute, pulsates with life in these two states, antedating the Declaration of Independence. The locking of the court house doors in this town against the entrance of the Crown Judges was nearly a year before the first gun was fired in Lexington. The first building of a public highway by order of the General Court, from Westfield to Blanford, was designated to be over the old Indian trail, and six hundred acres of land were appropriated for the purpose. In this divisional portion of roadway, there was recorded this section:

Provided, they do forthwith, or as soon as may be, open and constantly keep in repair thereafter, a good and safe cart-way over the premises in the road that leads from Westfield to Housatonic, commonly called the Albany road.

This was on petition, dated 1736. The first public road built in this country was in the 1740's, from the easterly line over the old Indian trail to the top of three mile hill, and to the Housatonic river at the Great Bridge, the trail continuing down the easterly side to the fordway. The passage of American troops over the road following the trail on their way to Lexington, the passage of Burgoyne and his thirty-five hundred English soldiers, after surrender at Saratoga in September, 1777, over a portion of this roadway, are incidents intermingling at this gathering.

This Epoch-marker is a halting place in the records of time, between the arrival of Major John Talcott, September, 1632, and the birth of George Washington, February 22, 1732. Washington took up the work of Major Talcott at Lexington and Bunker Hill, Saratoga and Yorktown, and the government of the United States stand in approval of the heoric work of Major Talcott in this town two hundred and twenty-nine years ago this month. The disasters of the Talcott incident

at the fordway, so frightened the Indians in this locality, that they took alarm, and withdrew from their chosen fields, and took up the line of march westward, without waiting for Mr. Greeley's advice to go west, and thus this town, by virtue of the Talcott incident, was freed from Indian presence which shadowed other localities. Thus freed, white settlers were invited into this charming locality and men came with their wives and daughters and took possession of vacated lands, without fear of Indian disturbances, and the trust was not unfounded.

The "Great Wigwam," to which tribal agencies came from other localities to compare notes, took council and had Indian talks over future plans for tribal action; and the scattered tepees which decked the landscape through the valley, vacated their premises.

The unveiling of this memorial tablet is an event not only of national interest, but has its home side. It will stand as a monument to the patriotic impulses of our mothers, wives and daughters. It will stand as a memorial of the first Old Home Week in Great Barrington. It will stand as a gift to the town by the members of the "Thursday Morning Club," who have always been so efficient in worthy deeds since their organization. The intellectual, fostering character of the Club, has been, and is a feature in the uplifting of the town, and is a watchful guardian in the outlook for its future.

The gathering of Great Barrington's children here today, honors the past, bestows blessings on the present, and breathes hopeful prayers for the future glory of the town.

Sketch of the Life of Gen. William. F. Bartlett

By MRS. H. NEILL WILSON

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL WILLIAM F. BARTLETT.

Before beginning this sketch, or out-line, as I prefer to call it, of General Bartlett's life, I wish sincerely to thank the Berkshire Historical Society for extending to me this rare privilege and honor. I only wish I felt myself more worthy of the task. As it is, I give you the result of my work, and only claim for its merit that it is wrought in love and sincere interest and admiration for the life so nobly lived.

It is a privilege to follow the biography of men who have lived for the larger issues of life.

The true patriot pays the same tribute of love and devotion to his country, that is paid by the true Christian to his Master. He heeds not the smallness of individuals; the petty quarrels that degrade political life, but looks higher to all that makes for good citizenship, and that which draws his country in close relations to his religion, until they blend, and he truly finds when called to defend his native land it is indeed for God—Home and Country. Carlyle says the history of the world is the biography of great men. "No sadder proof can be given," he says, "by a man of his own littleness than disbelief in great men."

Great men are our ideals. We form our attitude of character upon them, and as we reverence the ideals so wrought, the light of their influence shall carry us on in life, to nobility and grandeur. George Elliott's ideal of the after life comes back to me here, for so true are her words as prophecy of what the lives of truly great men and women, have with us.

O, may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirred to generosity—
In deeds of daring rectitude: in scorn
For miserable aims that end in self;
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues. * * * *

May I reach

> That purest Heaven: be to other souls
> The cup of strength in some great agony;
> Enkindle generous ardor feed pure love,
> Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,
> Be the sweet presence of a good diffused
> And in diffusion ever more intense.
> So shall I join the choir invisible
> Whose music is the gladness of the world.

Today I have come to talk to you of such a character passed on 'tis true to the choir invisible whose music is today the gladness of the world.

> For the sake of his gentleness,
> For the sake of his manliness,
> For the sake of the wilderness,
> Where his blood stained the Lee;
> For the sake of the duties done,
> For the sake of the fame he won,
> For the sake of the days to come
> Green may his memory be.

Thus wrote an old friend of General Bartlett's, the lines being written in Autograph in Mrs. Bartlett's copy of Palfrey's life, having been written too late to be embodied in the Memoirs.

As one reads Palfrey's life of General Bartlett, the soldier, patriot, statesman, friend, looms up from the pages—it seems presumptious to try and do justice to the well-rounded life in a paper of thirty minutes length. Yet his life might all be summed up in the words of St. Paul, inscribed upon the base of the cross raised to the General's memory and which stands on the altar of St. Stephen's Church.

> I have fought a good fight;
> I have finished my course;
> I have kept the faith.

In a poem entitled "Lars" by Bayard Taylor occurs the line:

> The healing of the world is in its nameless Saints.

As truly as we recognize the power of the silent nameless lives, that fill our world with peace, yet in our day and generation it is a boon to enshrine, high in the hearts of men, a name not only personifying personal bravery but manifesting the moral courage and high purpose that has been fulfilled in the life and name of William Francis Bartlett.

William Francis Bartlett was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, on the sixth of June, 1840.

Palfrey's life tells us he had a great grandfather who was present at the seige of Louisburg and that another great grandfather was an officer in the Third Massachusetts regiment of the Revolutionary War.

In 1861, William F. Bartlett was a student at Harvard, in his Junior year. We are all so familiar with his pictures that we hardly need be told that he was tall, slender and fair. Growing up in our midst we have seen his prototype in his twin sons. At this period of his life he was full of pleasure seeking—being a prime favorite with young women—fond of dancing, skating, etc., not at all a close student. He had excellent health from a child, was rather young for his age and at the opening of the year of '61, he was in sympathy with the South.

On the very day in which he wrote that if he went to war it would be "fighting against his principles," we find him joining the Fourth Battalion Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.

He went with this Battalion to Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, under General Stevenson, and he was there a month. He became filled with martial fever, and although returning to college he gave much time to drilling and military matters.

In June, 1861, Colonel Lee being authorized to raise the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment, Palfrey being made Lieutenant-Colonel, he offered to Bartlett a commission and he was appointed Captain. In September, 1861, the regiment was brigaded with the Nineteenth Massachusetts, Seventh Michigan and Forty-second New York, the force being under command of General Lander, and formed the Third Brigade of what was known as the Corps of Observation, a division of twelve regiments of infantry, one cavalry and four batteries commanded by General Stone, and encamped for many months at Fort Benton, between Poolesville and Edwards Ferry, the latter being a crossing of the Potomac near the Virginia Town of Leesburg.

On October 21st, 1862, the battle of Ball's Bluff was fought. This battle under General Baker was his most disastrous defeat. General Baker was misled and the enemy surrounded his troops. The General was killed and upon General Stone fell serious blame for the disastrous result of the engagement. General Stone was arrested and imprisoned, but afterward was released and exonerated of all fault. Inexperience and a lack of accurate information having led General Baker into engaging the enemy.

(See Vol. II. The Century Co. War Books.)

Captain Bartlett's journal and letters to his mother at this time prove exciting reading. His own part is modestly set forth—his hearty admiration for others—his fears for the lives of those he loved in the regiment.

General Baker was shot down near him, pierced by eight balls. The battle was lost before he fell. Captain Bartlett tells of Colonel Lee's composure when he found him sitting behind a tree. The Colonel told him they must surrender and save murdering more men. Upon this Captain Bartlett called for Company I and one more to rally. He says: "Every man that was left sprang forward, and also about six men (all who were left) of Captain Dreher's company, and ten men of Company H under Lieutenant Hallowell, all of whom followed me up the rise. As we reached the top I found Little by my side. We came upon two fresh companies of the enemy which had just come out of the woods; they had their flag with them. Both sides were so surprised at seeing each other—they at seeing us coming up with this handful of men, we at seeing these two new companies drawn up in perfect order,—that each side forgot to fire. As we stood looking at each other (not a gun being fired) for some twenty seconds, and then they let fly their volley at the same time we did.

"If bullets had rained before, they came in sheets now. It is surprising that any one could escape being hit. We were driven back again. I had to order sharply one or two of my brave fellows before they would go back. Everything was lost now."

One of the Philadelphia papers says: "After everything was given up as lost, a Captain of the Fifteenth Regiment rallied the remnants of two companies, and charged gallantly up the rise, but was driven back by overpowering numbers, after delivering a well-directed volley." So far so good. Then it says: "but seeing the hopelessness of the case, he tied a white handkerchief on his sword and surrendered himself and the remnant of his regiment."

The officer in question did not get quite so far as the last part of the story, nor did he belong to the Fifteenth Massachusetts.

Upon his managing to get the remnants of the Twentieth, Fifteenth and those of the Forty-Second and California Regiments back to Fort Benton, he was immediately left as commanding officer by Colonel Palfrey. As Officer in Command, he issued an order praising the conduct of the Twentieth Regiment. He says of the order: "The men were quite affected by the order and the next time the Twentieth is engaged she will leave a mark that will not be lost sight of in history."

He also says: "The first night that I was here in command, I thought it best to have a dress parade as usual, both to let the men see that everything was not broken up and to cheer them with the music."

The order and this act I quote because they are so characteristic of the kindly helpful spirit that was a part of his wonderful hold over the men under him. Some one asked one of the old soldiers under him what made the men love him so well. He replied, it was the knowledge of his absolute justice, and kindly care for all of whom he was responsible. Add to this a wonderful amount of tact, and perceptiveness and you understand the charm of character that led to implicit faith in him as a leader.

Owing to the many casualties of the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Captain Bartlett became second officer of the regiment present for duty and so he remained for the following six months. During this time Captain Bartlett was alert in every duty of the camp, proving himself invaluable to his commanding officer and endearing himself to those under him.

He is always spoken of as a strict disciplinarian, but that did not detract from the love he inspired. Palfrey says he was "more than a respectable officer—he was zealous, cheerful, successful in his work, nothing was neglected that was put in his hands."

In December, 1861, at the invitation of his commanding officer he joined tents with him—and the friendship grew between them which was to bless both their lives and led to General Palfrey's writing the memoirs.

After four months at Camp Benton and a move to Poolesville, the regiment formed part of a column marching to Harper's Ferry to the support of General Banks, and then moved on through Charleston to Berryville, thence to Washington and Fortress Monroe. After some time the regiment moved up the peninsula with the rest of the army of McClellan, and took part in the seige of Yorktown.

On April 24th, 1862, Captain Bartlett was with his regiment at the outposts in front of Yorktown.

While kneeling to examine the enemy through his field glass he received his first wound, as he explained it, "A sharp shooter hit me in the knee with a minie ball, shattering the bone down to my ankle. Dr. Hayward amputated it four inches above the knee and I started for Baltimore the same day." This is the sole entry in his Journal. Colonel Palfrey says, he looked up once as Colonel Palfrey stood near him and said "It's rough isn't it Frank?" That was his sole complaint for a misfortune that maimed for life a figure of fine proportion, full of manly vigor.

He went to his home in Massachusetts and while there received his degree from Harvard. Of the long hard days of suffering, his letter and journal make light. It is the mother who nursed him who records this and says in the postscript of the Captain's letter written to Colonel Palfrey:— "Frank has left me little to say; to be truthful his picture shaded a little, but he looks only on the bright side."

In September 1862 he was offered command of Camp Briggs, Pittsfield, Massachusetts where the Forty-Ninth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry were assembled. He assumed command September 20th. Mr. Johns who wrote the history of the Forty-Ninth says of him that "he looked the soldier even on crutches" and he cannot say enough of the wonderful energy of Captain Bartlett in drilling his men.

The Forty-ninth was a regiment in which the right of election of officers was recognized. The election took place November 10th, 1862, and Captain Bartlett was unanimously elected Colonel. The election took place at Fort Wool, Worcester, Mass.

Just after the election he appeared with his first artificial leg. The Forty-ninth on November 28th, left Worcester for New York, to camp on Long Island—Camp Banks. Before leaving New York, however, the regiment made a full dress parade march up Broadway.

Of this one of the newspapers said, "Our chief object of interest was the Colonel in command, armed, as we above mentioned, with the very unaccustomed weapon of a crutch.

"The Colonel . . . . . was mounted on a Vermont horse. . . . . The equipments, as well as the limbs of the rider, were apparently all complete, each long boot with its spur riding gracefully in its stirrup. Pistols and sword were in their places. At the horseman's back, however, poised like the long spear at the back of the lancer.

swung the strange implement which told the story,—a long crutch with velvet handle, betraying the wooden leg for which it stood ready to do service. With the wounds of his amputation healed, the heroic soldier was now returned to active duty, leading his regiment to the field with an alacrity that was little like a cripple."

General Banks left Camp Banks under General Andrews, as Banks proceeded to New Orleans.

Twice we find Colonel Bartlett left in command of the camp although a junior Colonel.

The journey to New Orleans followed this encampment, and Carrolton was the next camp. Then Baton Rouge.

During this campaign one sentence is full of his spirit. He had been drilling his regiment steadily and by hard work felt reasonably satisfied as to their merit. But he says: "I only hope I shall not get shot until I have had this regiment in one good fight, for really they seem to be so entirely dependent upon me that if I should get knocked over at first, I do not like to think what would become of them."

On March 14th the army march toward Port Hudson.

On the way came the sharp engagement of the Battle of Plains Store. Colonel Bartlett's good drilling showed its value in this hour of sudden trial.

On May 27th, 1863, Port Hudson was assaulted by General Banks. Colonel Bartlett with his regiment were in the edge of a wood, and he did not approve of the movement, for he had seen rebel fortifications and knew the obstructions he must meet, riding on horseback to lead his troops. As he said it was "on horseback or not at all."

He was struck from his horse—a ball striking the joint of his wrist, shattering the bones, while a buckshot struck the outside of his right ankle, glanced down, entering the flesh and passing through the sole of the foot.

Once more the only words that record the horrible disaster to himself are as follows, referring to the ride back to Baton Rouge in the ambulance: "The ride reminded me of mine from Yorktown to Shipping Point a year before. It was nine miles—a rough road."

It was of this engagement and Colonel Bartlett's brave charge at the head of his regiment that Colonel Cutting tells the story of the admiration for him wrought among the Southern officers. They asked who the man was on horseback, when Colonel Cutting was sent with a flag of truce. Upon learning his name, they expressed their admiration and said orders had been given not to fire upon him.

I love this story, for it is this spirit, the generous, honest admiration of valor and true manhood in the South today that makes it possible for North and South to clasp hands over the bloody chasm made by many battle fields.

For sometime they feared Colonel Bartlett might lose his arm, but after much suffering the wrist healed, but the hand was permanently stiffened.

The regiment arriving in Pittsfield August 22nd, he rode at the head with his arm in a sling. The regiment was mustered out a few days later, but Colonel Bartlett had accepted the Colonelcy of the Fifty-seventh regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

In September, 1863, came from Governor Andrew the word that Stanton had promised that as soon as he had raised his regiment he should have a brigadier-general's commission. To a youth of twenty-three this must have made his blood spin. His comment is only: "This was very gratifying of course. I hope he will keep his promise."

He became engaged at this time to Mary Agnes Pomeroy of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The acquaintance began during his first year at Camp Briggs. On receiving his second wound he wrote offering to release her from any promise, upon which came her swift, unmistable reply: "As long as there is enough of your body to hold your soul, I want you."

In 1864 partial paralysis of the left side of his face set in and he felt this to be the hardest trial sent him. Fortunately this affection was but a passing one and yielded to treatment.

In 1864, March 17th, he was presented with the sword, by the citizens of Winthrop, his father's old home. The sword bore the names of Balls Bluff, Yorktown, Plains Store and Port Hudson, and the colors of the Twentieth regiment were draped over the platform. April 18th, 1864, the Fifty-seventh left Worcester, nine hundred and twenty-eight strong, the Governor having presented them with regimental colors on the fourteenth. It went to Annapolis, thence to Washington and by the thirtieth reached Rappahannock Station.

In this Battle of the Wilderness Colonel Bartlett was wounded in the head badly enough to be sent to the rear. Captain Macy was also wounded and they met as they were borne away. Colonel Bartlett on his horse, clinging to its neck; Captain Macy on a stretcher—Captains formerly of the Twentieth Massachusetts. When convalescent from this wound, and in June 21st, 1864, the Senate confirmed him as Brigadier-General Volunteers. Here is the entry in his diary:

"I was awakened this morning by James coming in and reading to me that the Senate last night confirmed W. F. B. to be Brigadier-General Volunteers. Thank God!"

In another letter written General Palfrey, he says: "Yes, Frank, I have got my commission at last, signed by Abe and Stanton, gotten up in great style, in a brown tin case, with my name, rank, etc., in large letters of gold on the outside."

It took him some time to recover from the wound in his head but on the 19th of July, 1864, we find him in front of Petersburg taking command of the First Brigade of Ledlie's Division Ninth Army Corps.*

During the hard firing of this seige, he often refers in his journal to those at home. "God have pity on dear mother —Agnes, and all loved ones." His life had become dearer to him through the ties he had made. His letters to his mother are full of the tenderest love and forethought. On July 29th, a shell crushed his wooden leg, killing the man next him and as he was in the enemies lines he surrendered to General Malone. (July 29th, 1864, Petersburg, Va.) Then followed two months of imprisonment in Libby Prison with a few weeks in the Danville Prison hospital. His journal here is full of the anxiety of an active, energetic nature, imprisoned and ill. When thinking he must surely die, his malady took a turn for the better, and to his surprise he found himself recovering. He refers often to the comfort his prayer book was to him at this time and on its leaves he penciled pathetic lines of suffering and loneliness. At this time he paid twenty-five dollars for a pint of brandy. He also paid eight (Confederate) dollars for a tooth brush and two dollars for a quart of milk and five dollars for a dozen eggs. After two months of imprisonment, he was exchanged September 20th, 1864.

Ill health followed this imprisonment and despite the joy of being with his family and meeting Miss Pomeroy in New York, he had days of wretched suffering and languor.

His engagement to Miss Pomeroy was announced formally with festivities at her father's residence, the Homestead, January 16th, 1865.

(*) For description of this battle see Vol. IV, Century Co. War Book. The Battle of Petersburg Crater, by Major William Powell, U. S. A.

In June he commanded the military escort of the great procession in Boston in the ceremonies commemorative of the late President Lincoln. June nineteenth he took command of the Ninth Corps at Tenallytown near Washington. He was not in good health, the heat proved most oppressive, and he soon applied to Stanton for a six months leave of absence. Stanton replied in a pleasantly complimentary letter, with an apology for not being able to grant the furlough with salary.

On June twenty-first, Cambridge celebrated "Commemoration Day," Harvard welcoming her sons who fought in the Civil War.

General Bartlett, when called upon to speak, was most modest, saying that had he all the eloquence in the world he could not express his feelings. Thereupon Colonel Henry Lee, the Chief Marshal of the day, said, "As the Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia said to Washington, 'Sit down, sir, your modesty is equal to your valor and that surpasses the power of any language I possess.'"

In October 14, 1865, General Bartlett was married to Miss Pomeroy and they sailed for England a few days later. The journey was a great delight to the exhausted man. His journal and letters tell of his welcome among people of distinction, his hearty enjoyment of the life both in town and country. In England he attended a fox hunt and as he writes: "Would you believe it, I was in at the death." He explained that the English mode of riding with foot in the stirrup up to the heel just suited his "wooden foot."

In Paris he was especially impressed with hearing Mass in the Chapel des Invalides. In Italy he has the same enthusiasm, always the soldier and patriot, creeping out in his notes of admiration.

He had always been an admirer of Garabaldi, who, when the General was a boy, had come to Boston as master of a ship consigned to the General's father. As Garabaldi became famous, General Bartlett had followed with interest his career. Now upon making his presence in Italy known to Garabaldi, he was invited to visit him on the Island of Caprera. The account of this visit is most interesting, had we space to enter upon it. General Palfrey has done it full justice in his memoir of the General.

In 1866 the General returned to America and was mustered out of military service in July. His first child was born in September.

The question of his occupation now became uppermost. He was offered the post of Collector of the Port of Boston, but by family council it was decided he should turn his mind to business, preferably manufacturing.

A youth of twenty-six, he found himself constantly asked to attend political conventions, showing how strongly those who knew him, relied upon his keen judgement. He was asked by Judge Abbott at this time to let his name be used as candidate for Governor of the Constitutional Union Party —*not* Democratic. He declined at once.

He was recommended as President for a New York company and for the post of United States Marshal for District of Massachusetts, but the appointment for the latter was not made. He moved to Dalton where he had a little home called the Box, and he finally determined to take charge of a paper mill in Dalton.

In 1867 by death of an Uncle, General Bartlett was left a legacy that should have put him beyond financial anxiety, but through affection for his Uncle's widow, he refused the terms of the will, instructing the trustees to pay over the income to his aunt. General Palfrey's comment upon this conduct is that it was "a generous act, but in the sequel it proved most unfortunate." The uncle had said in leaving his widow one hundred thousand, and the estate to go at her death to his nephew General William F. Bartlett, "in consideration of his gallantry and devotion to his country in her late struggle for preservation."

The residue of his estate he left in trust to two friends to have the whole appraised, and pay one third to his wife, about fifteen thousand dollars in legacies and the rest to General Bartlett. Had he accepted the terms of the will he would have come into property worth two hundred thousand dollars.

His next business project was the Pomeroy Iron Works, leaving Colonel Cutting in charge of the mill at Dalton. The General now moved to Pittsfield and applied himself too closely for his health to the business of the Iron Works.

A serious illness came upon him which he bore uncomplainingly. His old wounds were a constant source of irritation, and his exposure and prison life bore sad results.

In 1870 the physicians sent him to England but the effects of the trip were not what was expected.

Paper and iron business proved poor. He moved into the new house he had built in Pittsfield in 1870 and that was

a joy and pleasure to him. His wife wrote at this time, however, "He suffers a great deal and sometimes longs for the rest of Heaven."

In 1871 he was made Senior Warden of St. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield. In 1872 his first son was born, which was a great joy to him and he named him after his uncle, the uncle from whom he refused the fortune.

In January of 1872 he accepted a position upon the personal staff of the Governor of Massachusetts with the rank of Colonel. His interest in politics did not flag. He attended the Cincinnati convention in 1872, in the interests of the nomination of Charles Francis Adams.

About this time he was also in Richmond, Virginia, where he was interested in the Powhatan Iron Works, the furnace at West Stockbridge, Pomeroy Iron Works, being destroyed by fire, with a heavy loss to the General.

On the twenty-fourth of September the Soldiers' Monument in the Park at Pittsfield, was dedicated, General Bartlett having written the inscriptions. It was in his speech upon this occasion that he made the appeal to his old comrades, an appeal that rang in all he ever said or did in his useful life among other men: "He [referring to the Sculptor, Laurett Thompson] has taken for his subject, not the private soldier nor the commissioned officer, but a greater hero than either,—the man on whom so often hung the fate of battle, the man on whose self-forgetting bravery and unflinching firmness the steadiness of the whole line depended, the man who bore the colors. And, comrades, was there ever any flag half so well worth fighting for, half so well worth dying for, as the flag we followed? As I look upon your faces that I have seen amid the smoke of battle, and remember how you closed up the gaps made by the fall of those whom we honor today, I am conscious that to you also belongs a share of the honor, but with this difference: their fame was achieved and secured by dying heroic deaths, yours must yet be maintained and preserved by living blameless lives."

I must pass hurriedly over the next events of his life. His grand speech at Lexington in 1875. The serenade given him the twenty-eighth of April by ex-Confedertae soldiers in Richmond; his speech at the Re-Union of the Forty-ninth; his struggle with business worries that wore him to the bone; his being offered in 1875 the nomination for Lutenant Governor on the Democratic ticket and the nomination of Governor on the Republican ticket, a curious political situation in which to find himself. His third trip to Europe in 1876; all

these incidents I must pass over far too rapidly for under every circumstance we find him so patient, so cheerful, so staunch a soldier in the battle of life, that it is a glorious privilege to guide one's pen in such a record. On the seventeenth of December, 1876, he "fell asleep" to wake no more to the struggle of life. He left his wife and six children unprovided for, every effort on his part had seemed unavailing. He had "fought the good fight" but the world had indeed gone hard with him, as to worldly means. But on the other hand, his had been the joy of loving service wherever he saw it wanting to be done; he held men strongly by a bond of love and respect. As his trusted foreman said and surely no finer words could have been said of any life "His great heart could take in the lowly."

I conclude with the Quaker Poet's tribute to General Bartlett's memory.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARTLETT.

Oh, well may Essex sit forlorn
  Beside her sea-blown shore;
Her well beloved, her noblest born
  Is hers in life no more.

If early from the mother's side
  Her favored child went forth,
Her pride so amply justified
  Is in a hero's birth.

No lapse of years can render less
  Her memory's sacred claim;
No fountain of forgetfulness
  Can wet the lips of fame.

A grief alike to wound and heal,
  A thought to soothe and pain,
The sad, sweet pride that mothers feel
  To her must still remain.

Good men and true she has not lacked,
  And brave men yet shall be;
The perfect flower, the crowning fact,
  Of all her years was he!

As Galahad pure, as Merlin sage,
What worthier knight was found
To grace in Arthur's golden age
The fabled Table Round?

A voice, the battle's trumpet-note,
To welcome and restore;
A hand, that all unwilling smote,
To heal and build once more!

A soul of fire, a tender heart
Too warm for hate, he knew
The generous victor's graceful part,
To sheathe the sword he drew.

The more than Sidney of our day,
Above the sin and wrong
Of civil strife, he heard alway
The angel's Advent song!

When Earth, as if on evil dreams,
Looks back upon her wars,
And the white light of Christ outstreams
From the red disk of Mars.

His fame who led the stormy van
Of battle well may cease,
But never that which crowns a man
Whose victory was Peace.

Mourn, Essex, on thy sea-blown shore
Thy beautiful and brave,
Whose failing hand the olive bore,
Whose dying lips forgave!

Let age lament the youthful chief,
And tender eyes be dim;
The tears are more of joy than grief
That fall for one like him!

—John Greenleaf Whittier.

The Capture of Fort Ticonderoga

By WILLIAM L. ROOT.

THE CAPTURE OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

Introduction.

In January, 1909, I read a paper on Colonel James Easton before the local chapters of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

It seemed desirable to enlarge the scope of the paper and to include all the details of the expedition to Ticonderoga.

In the course of the work, Fort Ticonderoga was visited; also the state archives at Hartford and Albany. When the work was practically completed Justin H. Smith's "Struggle For The Fourteenth Colony" was obtained. This gives the history of Vermont in great detail. It will be seen by a reader that my work has a close similarity, consulting, of course, the same sources, though completed before his work appeared.

Our paper concerns three men, James Easton, John Brown and Edwin Mott. A few words about their lives and subsequent military careers may be of interest.

James Easton was born at East Hartford, Connecticut, June 9, 1728, and died at Pittsfield, May 26, 1796. At the time of the Ticonderoga expedition he was Colonel of the local regiment of militia.

After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, Easton saw further service at the North, being appointed Colonel of a regiment in Montgomery's expedition. In this position he urged invasion of Canada and with this regiment was a part of the expedition to Montreal and Quebec. The forces moved down the Sorel river and attacked the fortress at St. Johns on September 5, 1775. It surrendered after a fifty days' seige and on November 12, Montgomery reached Montreal. During the seige of St. John's, Easton's regiment suffered severely. Just before the fall of St. John's, Easton with six hundred men pushed down the Sorel River to its junction with the St. Lawrence and threw up intrenchments, mounting three twelve-pounders, one nine- and two six-pounders, commanding the river and preventing the passage of the British vessels at Montreal. On November 19, the vessels with a considerable quantity of stores surrendered to Colonel Easton.

General Montgomery wrote to Schuyler: "Colonel Easton's detachment while employed in the heroic service of stopping the enemy's fleet was half naked and the weather was very severe. As a reward I promised them the stores seized in the vessels." Further he says: "Colonel Easton has shown so much zeal and activity in the important service he has been employed upon that I think myself obliged to speak of him in the warmest terms of acknowledgement."

On December 31, his commission as Colonel expired and Benedict Arnold charged him with the military crime of having allowed the plunder of the enemy's baggage on the vessels at the Sorel, though this plundering had been authorized by Montgomery.

He was never able to contend against Arnold's influence and secure a commission in the Continental Army, though he appealed to General Washington and went before the Congress at Philadelphia.

John Brown was a close friend of Easton's. He was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1744, and graduated from Yale in 1771. His sister married a cousin of Benedict Arnold, so that later the Ticonderoga expedition was somewhat of a family affair.

He came to Pittsfield as a lawyer in 1773, and was prominent in the local patriot circles. He was a delegate to the First Provincial Congress and was sent by them on a mission to Montreal and Quebec. After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, he was made a Major of the Berkshire regiment under his friend Easton. He was prominent in the capture of Fort Chamblee on October 19, 1775. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel and took part in Montgomery's attack on Quebec on December 31, 1775, and afterwards served under Benedict Arnold.

He served during 1776-7 as Lieutenant-Colonel of Elmore's Connecticut regiment at Albany and Fort Stanwix. He resigned owing to difficulties with Benedict Arnold. During the Fall of 1777, he was in command of bodies of Massachusetts militia serving around Lake George.

1780 he was made Colonel of the Third Berkshire regiment of militia, Oliver Root being Major, and the forces marched to the Mohawk Valley. On October 19, 1780, he was ambushed with his forces by the Indians and lost his life. Major Oliver Root succeeded in retreating to Fort Paris where the Indians and British were held at bay.

Edward Mott of Preston, Connecticut, was at the outbreak of the Revolution, a Captain in Colonel Parson's Sixth Connecticut regiment. He was commissioned on May 1, 1775, and served till February 10, 1776.

August 6, 1775, he was appointed Assistant Engineer to the Army at the North. In 1776 he was Captain of a company raised for the defense and protection of the harbor of New London, Connecticut, and served as Commandant of a fort at Groton, Connecticut, from February to July, 1776. On July 2, 1776, he was appointed Major of Colonel Gay's regiment of Wadsworth's brigade, and it is probable that he was present at the battle of Brooklyn on August 27, at the retreat across the East River and through New York, and also at the battle of White Plains.*

The Capture.

To one who stands under the ruined walls of Fort Ticonderoga and looks across the peaceful waters of Lake Champlain to the distant Vermont hills, it seems incredible that so beautiful a spot should have been the scene of so much bloodshed, or that one hundred and forty years ago its possession should have been so vital.

Lake Champlain and its outlet, the Sorel, furnished a convenient waterway for an invasion of Canada, and equally an opportunity for the invading foe to strike a blow to separate the Colonies in twain.

Ticonderoga was a key to the lake and around it the bloody tide of battle surged during the French and Indian wars.

As Fort Carillon, it was built by the French in 1755 and two years later Montcalm assembled there nine thousand men with whom he took Fort William Henry on Lake George.

On July 8, 1758, General Abercrombie attacked the fort with fifteen thousand men but was repulsed. The following year General Amherst invested the fort with twelve thousand troops and on the night of July 23, 1759, the French evacuated the place, having first blown up the magazine. The British maintained the place thoughout the war, but after the coming of peace and the cession of Canada to the British, the fort was allowed to fall into a state of decay, and, at the outbreak of the Revolution, it was garrisoned by but a small force commanded by Captain Delaplace, twenty-sixth regiment, British Army.

(*) Conn. Men in Revolution, pages 76, 617 and 395.

At this time, there was both at Ticonderoga and its northern neighbor, Crown Point, a considerable quantity of military stores.

The importance of these forts was recognized by the British. In 1767, General Carleton wrote to General Gage: "It is not only experient but indispensably necessary to keep the forts in repair."

In May of 1774, the British military engineer at New York, Montressor, was ordered to Lake Champlain to prepare plans for repairing one of the posts or building a new fortification. Prominent British officers proposed to General Gage that a "couple of regiments should be stationed at Crown Point, under pretense of rebuilding that Fort, which from its situation not only secures communication with Canada, but opens also an easy access to the back settlements of the Northern Colonies, and may keep them in awe, should any of them be inclined to acts of open force and violence."

On November 2, General Gage was ordered by Lord Dartmouth to put both Ticonderoga and Crown Point in a proper state of defence. Gage did not receive the letter till after Xmas and deferred matters till after the battle of Lexington.

He then ordered Carleton to place the Seventh Regiment and some companies of Canadians and Indians at Crown Point. Meanwhile the Colonists were not idle. During the winter of 1774, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had sent John Brown of Pittsfield, a member of their Committee on Correspondence, on a secret expedition to Canada. He had full power to confer with Canadians, both French and English, to obtain all possible information and to report on the possibility of Canada's joining with the Colonies in their resistance to Great Britain. His guide was Peleg Sunderland of Vermont, and it is probable that he met other prominent residents of the "New Hampshire Grants."

After much hardship, Brown reached Montreal and Quebec, and showed himself a man of tact and resource in carrying out his mission. In his report to Samuel Adams, (1) dated March 29, 1775, he wrote: "The Fort at Tyconderogo must be seised as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the King's Troops. The people on N. Hampshire Grants have engaged to do this Business and in my opinion they are the most proper Persons for this Jobb."

After the battle of Lexington the principal inhabitants of the Grants met and discussed the seizure of the forts, threatening as they did their very homesides. However no decisive action was taken.

At New Haven, Connecticut, Benedict Arnold called out the Militia company of which he was captain, seized the local supply of powder and marched with his men to Cambridge, reaching there April 29.

He reported to Dr. Warren and the Committee of Safety with his men, and informed him that cannon could be secured at Ticonderoga. They pressed him for particulars and he wrote as follows:

(2) Cambridge, Apr. 30, 1775.

Gentlemen: You have desired me to State the number of cannon etc. at Ticonderoga. I have certain information that there are at Ticonderoga 80 pieces of heavy cannon, twenty brass guns from four to eighteen pounders, and ten to twelve large mortars. At Skenesborough there are three or four large cannon. The Fort is in a ruinous condition and has not more than fifty men at the most. There are large numbers of small arms and considerable stores, and a sloop of 70 tons on the lake. The place could not hold out an hour against a vigorous onset.

Your most obedient, humble servant,
BENEDICT ARNOLD.

To Honourable Joseph Warren and the Honourable Committee of Safety.

They wrote at once to the New York Committee:

(3) Cambridge, Apr. 30, 1775.

It has been proposed to us to take possession of the Fortress at Ticonderoga. We have a just sense of the importance of that fortification, and the usefulness of those fine cannon, mortars and field pieces which are there, but we would not in this emergency infringe upon the rights of our sister-colony, New York.

But we have desired the gentleman who carries this letter, to represent this matter to you, that you may give such orders as are agreeable to you.

We are, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient servants,
JOSEPH WARREN, Chairman.

To Alexander McDougall.

Dr. Warren and his Committee did not, however, wait for a reply. They appointed a Committee to confer with Arnold, voted supplies and on probably the second of May, the Committee of Safety "confiding in the judgement, fidelity and valor of Captain Arnold," did constitute and appoint him "Colonel and Commander in Chief over a body of men not exceeding four hundred," and instructed him to proceed with all expedition and reduce the fort at Ticonderoga if he could.

Connecticut is entitled to much honor for initiating plans which resulted in Ethan Allen's capture of the Fortress.

Colonel Parsons of the Sixth Connecticut Regiment stated in a letter written to Joseph Trumbull on June 2, 1775 (4): "On my way to Hartford, I fell in with Capt. Arnold who gave me an account of the State of Ticonderoga, and that a great number of brass cannon were there." It is supposed that this meeting with Arnold took place on April 27, two days before Arnold reached Cambridge. Justice to Arnold requires that we give him the credit due him as one of the inspirers of the Connecticut expedition.

Colonel Parsons consulted with his friends at Hartford and planned to raise money to finance an expedition, the men themselves to be raised on the New Hampshire Grants, no alarm thus being raised by the passage of a large body of men through the country.

On April 28, 1775, Thomas Munford, Samuel H. Parsons, Silas Deane, Samuel Willys, Adam Babcock and Christopher Leffingwell borrowed from the Treasurer of the Connecticut Colony three hundred pounds on their joint note, stipulating that they would employ it on the uses of Government and should account for it to the satisfaction of the Colony. This was the initial cost of the expedition and the total expense until the Continental authorities took control, was one thousand five hundred and eleven pounds.

For our accounts of the expedition, we are indebted to a letter (5) written by its leader, Captain Edward Mott, to the Massachusetts Congress and to the journal which he wrote for Christopher Leffingwell. (6).

On the same day, April 28, 1775, that the six patriots borrowed the money from the Connecticut treasury, Edward Mott returned to Hartford from a visit to the patriot camp at Boston.

Christopher Leffingwell discussed with him the relief and assistance of the American forces at Boston; Mott was convinced of the possibility of capturing Ticonderoga. The same day, Leffingwell with Samuel Parsons and Silas Deane,

discussed matters further, and finding Mott willing to proceed, gave him a letter to Noah Phelps and Bernard Ronans, whom they had dispatched on April 27, authorizing Mott to join with them and have his voice in conducting the affair.

Mott with five men left Hartford on April 29, reaching Salisbury and meeting Ronans and Phelps on Sunday, April 30.

Salisbury was a patriotic place and contained an iron furnace which between 1776 and 1780 made many cannon for the Continental Authorities. Ten years before Ethan Allen had been one of the proprietors, and two of his brothers still lived at the furnace. Ronans immediately dispatched Heman Allen to inform Ethan Allen to have the Green Mountain Boys ready.

It is not surprising that more recruits were obtained here, and the party increased to sixteen, at which it was resolved to limit it and to ride through the country unarmed until they reached the Grants.

The Connecticut men were Captain Edward Mott, Lieutenant Jeremiah Halsey of Preston, Epaphras Bull, William Nichols, Elijah Babcock, Captain John Bigelow, Bernard Ronans of Hartford, Captain Elisha Phelps and Noah Phelps of Simsbury, Ashbel Willis, Captain John Stevens of Canaan, Samuel Blagden, Josiah Stoddard and Levi Allen of Salisbury, Captain Ezra Hicock, Thomas Barker, 3rd and probably Gershom Hewett. (7).

Monday evening, May 1, 1775, the party reached Pittsfield and lodged for the night at Easton's Tavern. The inn-keeper, James Easton, was a prominent patriot and was also Colonel of the Berkshire Regiment of Militia. He was a well-rounded man, by occupation a builder, and a deacon of the First Church. They also met John Brown who had been in Ticonderoga not more than a month before. It is not surprising that under the advice of Easton and Brown, Captain Mott made a decided change in his plans.

Easton and Brown felt that as there was a scarcity of provisions in the Grants and as the people were poor, it would be difficult to raise a sufficient body of men there, and advised raising a number of men in Berkshire, though not in Pittsfield, as that was a Tory center. Their advice was doubtless influenced by their both volunteering for service, and their wishing to have the men of Easton's regiment share in the expedition.

In the morning the main body departed for Bennington while Captain Mott and Easton went to Jericho, now Hancock, where Captain Asa Douglas and twenty-three men were secured. In Williamstown fifteen men were rasied; the only man from Pittsfield was probably Captain Dickinson. Meanwhile Ethan Allen raised his forces as fast as possible.

The affairs of the party were managed by a "Committee of War for the Expedition." Of the Committee Captain Edward Mott was chairman. The other members were Colonel James Easton, Captain Elisha Phelps, Captain Noa Phelps and Epaphras Bull.

At Bennington a Council of War was held; Colonel Easton was chairman. Captain Noah Phelps and Mr. Hicock were chosen to proceed to the Fort and examine its condition and situation. (8).

Ethan Allen and Seth Warner had made much preparation and were ready for the fray.

Patrols were established to prevent the enemy's alarm, more volunteers were raised, parties were sent out after supplies, and finally the little army with its cattle and supply wagons moved on toward Lake Champlain.

On the eighth of May, they reached Castleton where Captain Phelps met them with his report. (9).

He had proceeded from the southern part of Lake Champlain in a boat and stopped at a tavern near Fort Ticonderoga. The officers of the garrison occupied the room adjoining for a supper party, discussing the commotion of the Colonies and the condition of their fort. Very early in the morning, he gained admission to the fort for the purpose of being shaved. While returning from the fort the commandant walked with him, conversing about the rebels, their movements and objects. Captain Phelps saw a portion of the wall in a delapidated condition and remarked that it would be but a feeble defence against the Rebels. The commandant replied, "Yes, but that is not our greatest misfortune, for all our powder is damaged and we are obliged to sift and dry it before we can use it." (10).

That the Connecticut Colony's first thought was of replenishing the powder supply is shown by the following receipt. (11).

Windsor, Conn., May 27, 1775.

Then I, the subscriber, did receive of Henry Allen, Esq. 500 Weight of Gunpowder on account of Connecticut Colony to be transported to Ticonderoga with all possible speed.

JAMES EASTON.

For this he was paid two hundred pounds.

On May 8, at Castleton, the final council was held with Captain Mott as chairman.

The officers were now ranked in proportion to the number of men raised by each. This gave Ethan Allen the command while James Easton was second and Seth Warner third in rank.

A party was detailed to go to Skenesborough to capture the post there, while the main body marched to Shoreham to cross the lake at that point.

In the evening Benedict Arnold arrived with no men, but with his commission as "Colonel and Commander-in-chief over a body of men not exceeding four hundred," to be enlisted for the reduction of Ticonderoga. (12).

After receiving his commission, he had appointed various patriots as captains, whose service dates from May 3, 1775, and urged them to enlist men for the expedition. He secured a quantity of ammunition, ten horses and one hundred pounds of cash. Possibly the Massachusetts Committee had informed him of the report made to them by John Brown. He realized that if he were to secure the glory of the capture he must lose no time. He rushed for the New Hampshire Grants with all possible speed. On the morning of May 8 he was at Rupert, Vermont, and heard that Fort Ticonderoga had been alarmed. He evidently had reports of the Connecticut expedition but though without a soldier he was undismayed. He wrote at once: (13).

Reuport, 8th May, 1775.

Gentlemen: By the best information I can get, there is one hundred men, or more, at Ticonderoga, who are alarmed, and keep a good lookout. I am also informed, the sloop is gone to St. John's for provisions; that she had six guns mounted, and twenty men. We have only one hundred and fifty men gone on, which are not sufficient to secure the vessel and keep the lakes; this ought by all means to be done, that we may cut off their communications, and stop all supplies going to the fort, until we can have a sufficient number of men from the lower towns.

I beg the favor of you, Gentlemen, as far down as this reaches to exert yourselves, and send forward as many men to join the army here as you can possibly spare. There is plenty of provisions engaged, and on the road for five hundred men six or eight weeks. Let every man bring as much powder and ball as he can, also a blanket. Their wages are 40s. a month. I humbly engage to see paid; also the blankets. I am, Gentlemen, your humble servant.

BENEDICT ARNOLD,
Commander of the Forces.

To the Gentlemen in the Southern Towns.

This letter found in 1844 in Cheshire, Massachusetts, by the Honorable Ezekiel Colt formed a part of Honorable Thomas Colt's collection of historical documents.

History tells us that Arnold's promise of payment was never kept. When Arnold reached the Connecticut expedition, the "Committee of War for the Expedition" declined to recognize his commission. The men in the ranks knew their own leaders and did not desire to serve under Arnold.

The legal aspect of the affair was interesting. A military expedition without duly appointed leaders, financed by the Connecticut Colony, and composed of Massachusetts and New Hampshire Grants men, proposed invading a third colony, New York. While of course Arnold had a legal claim to command his expedition, he had no men to command.

When Arnold claimed the command of the entire expedition, the men threatened to go home if forced to serve under him. As Arnold did not want to drop out of matters entirely, it was arranged that he and Allen should have a dual command, issuing orders together.

Matters having been adjusted during the day of May 9, the forces moved on to the lake and awaited evening and the boats, which detachments were to seize along the Lake.

It was slow work getting the men across the lake but before dawn Allen and Arnold with about eighty men were on the western shore, a little more than half a mile from the fortress. It was seen to be near daybreak and immediate attack was decided on. Arnold again attempted to assert his authority, but again agreed to lead with Allen. A young boy living in the neighborhood served as guide. He led them along the shore to the wicket gate, a covered way which led up to the heart of the fortress. The two soldiers stationed here were powerless and the forces of Allen and Arnold burst into the fortress yelling like savages.

Allen rushed to the door of Captain Delaplace's quarters, and hammered on the door with his sword. The half-dressed Captain was greeted:

"Give up the fort instantly."

"By what authority do you demand it?" said Delaplace.

"In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," thundered the immortal Allen.

So fell the fortress of Ticonderoga.

Immediately Arnold claimed the command again but the men refused to serve under him and the "Committee" reasoned again with Arnold. He claimed that he alone had legal orders to show his right to command. So Captain Mott wrote Colonel Allen his orders, as follows:

To Col. Allen:

Sir: Whereas, agreable to the Power and Authority to us given by the Colony of Connecticut, we have appointed you to take the command of a party of men and reduce and take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, and as you are now in possession of the same,—you are hereby directed to keep the command of said garrison for the use of the American Colonies, till you have further orders from the Colony of Connecticut or from the Continental Congress.

Signed per order of Committee,

EDWARD MOTT,
Chairman Committee.

Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775.

The Committee made its report to the Massachusetts Congress.

Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775.

To the Provincial Congress now sitting at Watertown:

This is to certify that previous to Col. Benedict Arnold's arrival at the Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, a committee sent from the Colony of Connecticut furnished with money for the purpose of reducing and garrisoning said forts, had with the assistance of seventy men from Massachusetts and one hundred and forty men from the New Hampshire Grants, marched within a few miles of Ticonderoga and this morning at day-break, took possession of said Fort and have given the command thereof into the hands of Col. Ethan Allen, and said Arnold refuses to give up his command which causes much difficulty—; said Arnold not having enlistel one man neither do we know that he has or could do it. And as said Committee has raised the men, and are still raising supplies for the purpose of repairing said Forts, taking the armed sloop, and defending this Country and said Forts, we think that said Arnold's proceedure in this matter is highly inexpedient both in regards to expense and defense.

JAMES EASTON,
EPAPHRAS BULL,
EDWARD MOTT,
NOAH PHELPS,
Committee of War for the Expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

After the surrender Captain Mott was sent with the news to the Congress at Hartford, Easton was dispatched to the Massachusetts Congress and John Brown went to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

Ethan Allen wrote to the Massachusetts Congress as follows:

Gentlemen: I have to inform you, with pleasure unfelt before, that on break of day of the tenth of May, 1775, by order of the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, we took the Fortress of Ticonderoga by storm. The soldiery was composed of about 100 Green Mountain Boys and near 50 veteran soldiers from the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The latter were under the command of Cal. James Easton, who behaved with great zeal and fortitude not only in council but also in the assault. The soldiery behaved with such resistless fury that they so terrified the King's troops that they durst not fire on their assailants and our soldiery was agreably disappointed. The soldiery behaved with uncommon rancor when they leaped into the Fort, and it must be confessed that the Colonel has greatly contributed to the taking of that Fortress, as well as John Brown, who was also an able counsellor, and was personally in the attack.

I expect the Colonies will maintain this Fort. As to the cannon and warlike stores, I hope they may serve the cause of liberty instead of tyranny, and I humbly implore your assistance in immediately assisting the Government of Connecticut in establishing a garrison in the reduced premises. Col. Easton will inform you at large.

From, gentlemen, your most obedient

Humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

To the Honorable Congress of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, or Council of War.

Captain Mott also wrote:

Col. James Easton was of great service both in councils and action, and in raising men for the expedition and appeared to be well qualified to be not only a colonel of Militia at home, but also to command in the field.

And also John Brown, Esq. of spirit and resolution as well as good conduct.

I have the pleasure to add that on Wednesday morning last, the tenth of this instant, about the break of day, our men entered the gate, till when they were undiscovered; and in the most courageous and intrepid manner darted like lightning on the guards, so that but two had time to snap their firelocks at us, and in a few minutes the Fortress with its dependencies was delivered into our hands. There were about forty soldiers taken prisoners of war, including officers and excluding those taken at Skenesborough. Not one life lost in this noble acquisition.

I am, gentlemen, in haste, your most obedient, humble servant,

EDWARD MOTT,

Chairman of the Committee of War.

To the Honorable Provincial Congress.

The importance of the capture of Ticonderoga was entirely out of proportion to the small number of men who were engaged. It was the first aggressive measure undertaken by any of the Colonies against Great Britain. Their initial success was followed by the capture of the other posts along Lake Champlain, by the organization and invasion of Montgomery's army through the Sorel Valley, and by Arnold's march through the Maine wilderness, and the mid-winter attack on Quebec.

The best defense is always vigorous aggressive action. If Ticonderoga and its sister-forts had been left undisturbed it would have been possible, indeed it would have been highly probable that Burgoyne's expedition would have taken place much earlier.

In the unprepared state of the Colonies, he would have succeeded in reaching New York, splitting the Colonies in twain and being able to subdue either part at his leisure.

For their promptness in the cause of liberty, the American people owe a lasting debt of gratitude not only to Ethan Allen, but also to James Easton, John Brown and Edward Mott, whose zeal and energy and wisdom made possible the splendid success they achieved.

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